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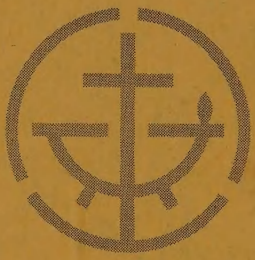

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CHINA

ITS HISTORY ARTS AND LITERATURE

Chapter I

PRECONVENTIONAL PERIOD OF FOREIGN INTERCOURSE AND TRADE

(*Continued*)

THE opium surrendered on this memorable occasion represented an original outlay of about two and three-fourths millions sterling and was worth two and one-fourth millions at the abnormally low rate then ruling in the market. It was confidently believed among the English, and, indeed, officially stated by Captain Elliot, that the Chinese authorities entertained no intention of destroying this valuable property, but would sell it at a high price, compensating the foreigners and pocketing the difference preparatory to legalising the traffic. But Lin, having received instructions direct from the Throne, ordered the destruction of the whole quantity, and his commands were obeyed in the most effectual manner.

He further decreed the banishment of sixteen merchants, English, American, and Parsee, who had been chiefly conspicuous as importers of the drug, and it is notable that Captain Elliot accompanied these proscribed persons when they left Canton, thus identifying himself with their cause in Chinese eyes.

Allusion has already been made to the generally high moral standard maintained by the foreign community of Canton at the time when these events occurred, and to the fact that, the actions of each unit of the community being exposed to an exceptionally strong light of public opinion, the canons of collective conduct exercised binding force upon individuals. Under such circumstances it seems incongruous that the fullest indulgence should have been shown towards an offence like opium-smuggling. In extenuation of that curious license, and even in justification of it, many theories have been advanced. Chiefly it is urged that the sincerity of the Chinese authorities was doubted. Imperial edicts had indeed been issued as early as 1800, prohibiting the import of the drug. But the viceroys and governors charged with the duty of giving effect to the prohibition, had plainly connived at its evasion, and officials of lower rank had shown zeal only in securing for themselves a share of the profits. Moreover these doubts of China's ingenuousness derived cogency from the fact that, while interdicting

the foreign drug's importation, no effort was made to check the cultivation of the poppy at home. More than one European or American writer has affirmed that the ancient laws of China forbade the growing of the poppy and the use of opium throughout the Empire. But that is an error, caused apparently by a desire to establish a case complete at every point against foreign importers. Evidently, if it could be shown that though endeavouring to restrain the vice by depriving it of home-produced sustenance, the Peking Government's aim was defeated by illicit supplies of the drug from abroad, the guilt of the European and American smugglers would be much increased. The fact is, however, that the Peking Government seemed to show themselves persistently indifferent to the production of opium in China, and such indifference could not but tend to discredit the good faith of their vetoes against the purchase of the drug from abroad. On the other hand, it may be urged in their behalf that they regarded the domestic drug as comparatively harmless, and that its manufacture grew so gradually as to escape attention until a late period. Prior to 1729, when the first prohibitive edict was issued, no conception of opium's evil potentialities had been entertained. Its medicinal uses alone being recognised, the expediency of legislating against its manufacture within the Empire did not present itself to the mind of Chinese statesmen, and when they dis-

covered the danger, they associated it wholly with the use of the imported article. In a word, failing to see that the trouble lay, not with the arrival of a specially prepared form of opium from abroad, but with the introduction of a new manner of using the drug, and that the difference between the mischievous effects of foreign and of native opium was merely a difference of degree, Chinese legislators attributed a comparatively innocuous character to the domestic product and framed vetoes solely against the foreign.

That is the sole explanation of their inconsistency. But it is plainly an explanation to which permanent validity cannot be assigned. More accurate knowledge could not fail to be acquired in Peking sooner or later, and that it was actually acquired may be seen from the annals. Thus, in 1838, when the Cabinet Minister, Chu Tsun, submitted his celebrated memorial against opium, his language shows that he did not suspect the native article of being harmless. He did indeed claim for it inferiority of preparation and want of novelty, but, at the same time, he anticipated with keen apprehension the extension of poppy cultivation to fertile districts then employed in raising food stuffs. Still the expediency of attempting to put an end to the growth of the plant in China did not apparently present itself to him. He and his fellow-statesmen in Peking seem to have thought that unless they could begin by cutting off the foreign sup-

ply, it would be futile to restrict the native. Of course, when the opium question entered its acutest phase in 1838, foreigners did not fully appreciate this legislative inconsistency on China's part. Their acquaintance with conditions existing in the interior of the Empire was still vague, and they knew little about the area of land devoted to poppy cultivation. But they had some perception of the contradiction, and it confirmed their conviction that the Chinese Government was not honestly solicitous for the people's welfare, but that it aimed rather at stopping the outflow of specie. To substitute home-produced opium for the imported article would have saved China from paying some five million pounds sterling annually to foreign countries for the purchase of a pernicious luxury, and she made no secret of the fact that her prohibitions were partially influenced by that consideration. With such a policy, however, the foreign trader could scarcely be expected to sympathise practically. He sought a market for his opium, and, compared with the attainment of that object, China's financial convenience was a matter of altogether subordinate importance in his eyes.

Of course the above extenuations of opium-smuggling are flimsy. To affirm that because a law may be evaded by corrupting its administrators therefore its aims may be discredited and its violations condoned, is at once most defective logic and most crooked morality; and even though it

were established that in prohibiting opium imports China was influenced chiefly by financial expediency, assuredly foreigners did not thereby acquire any title to disregard her vetoes. In those preconventional days no international obligation restrained her from regulating her trade according to her own fiscal convenience, and no one within her borders had any right to disregard her regulations. As for the plea based on her hypothetical insincerity, it could not for a moment survive incidents such as those that occurred immediately before and after the arrival of Commissioner Lin at Canton. The local authorities did not torture, imprison, scourge and strangle their own nationals merely in *pro-forma* deference to a disregarded regulation.

Another explanation given of foreigners' indifference to China's anti-opium law at the time of these events is that they classed opium-smoking in the same category with alcohol-drinking. They contended that the evil effects of the drug had been greatly exaggerated; that, smoked in moderation, it was beneficial rather than noxious, and that for injurious excesses the depraved consumer alone should be held responsible. An interminable controversy was provoked by that phase of the question. Men of high standing and unimpeachable honesty ranged themselves on either side. English philanthropists untiringly endeavoured to show that the Chinese nation was gradually losing its virility through opium

poisoning, while, on the other hand, English publicists ridiculed such demonstrations as emotional "fads." In the midst of the discussion, China's neighbour, Japan, had to consider the opium question as applied to herself. She did not hesitate for an instant. Laws so stringent were enacted, and their observance was enforced with such stern efficiency, that the import and sale of opium for smoking purposes became an impossibility within her realm. No Occidental nation would fail to take similar precautions in the face of a similar emergency. Academical discussions might be carried on with much show of earnestness, but when the practical test came to be applied every civilised people would do as the Japanese did.

While noting the excuses made for the opium-smugglers by themselves and by their fellow merchants, it must not be forgotten that the foreign traders of Canton *en masse* made no pretence of openly approving such doings. At the beginning of the complications described above, the records of the Canton Chamber of Commerce show that "an almost unanimous feeling existed in the community as to the absolute necessity of the foreign merchants having nothing to do with the opium traffic."

Simultaneously with his own departure from Canton, accompanied by the proscribed opium-smugglers, Captain Elliot interdicted the entry of any British ship into the port or the residence

of any British subject in the Factories. He based the order on alleged insecurity of life and property, though members of other nationalities did not discover any such insecurity, and were able to remain safely in the city, pursuing their business as usual. The British merchants, not without some reluctance and remonstrance, obeyed the order of their superintendent and withdrew to Macao and Hongkong, thereafter sending their goods thence to Canton in ships of other nations.

Commissioner Lin vainly sought to terminate this state of affairs. His original plan had been, not to disturb the legitimate trade, but to purge it of its illegitimate elements. If he included the innocent as well as the guilty in his scheme of coercion at Canton, it was because discrimination could not possibly be effected. The whole foreign community had virtually made common cause with the smugglers, since through its representatives it had declared its inability to prevent the opium traffic or to coerce those engaged in it. Therefore Lin could not choose but draw his cordon round all alike. He doubtless argued that the restraint might be terminated at once by the legitimate traders signing a promise to permanently abstain from a course of which they avowedly disapproved, and by the illegitimate traders surrendering their contraband goods. The British Government had emphatically declared that no protection could be afforded to

"enable British subjects to violate the laws of the country in which they trade," and the British superintendent had proclaimed his readiness to "use his efforts to fulfil the pleasure of the great Emperor." Lin had no reason to suppose that Lord Palmerston's declaration was an idle platitude, or to expect that Captain Elliot would resent the "Great Emperor's" measures for suppressing smuggling. Doubtless Captain Elliot, a highly conscientious man, believed that he had full justification for his resentment. But when, after ordering his nationals to leave Canton, where they might have continued to carry on their business in prosperous security on the simple condition of refraining from illicit traffic, and after refusing Lin's invitation to return, he wrote to the Governor-General of India characterising Lin's action as "a course of violence and spoliation which had broken up the foundations of this great trade, so far as Canton is concerned, perhaps for ever," he seems to have forgotten altogether that up to the eleventh hour the "violence and spoliation" had been entirely on the side of the men who, by force of arms and by corrupt methods, carried on an illicit traffic in an article which poisoned the Chinese people and robbed them of their wealth.

From the point of view of political sagacity, however, the British superintendent acted shrewdly. His device involved Lin's complete discomfiture. For not only was the regular trade now thor-

oughly dislocated, a result which the Chinese commissioner had been most anxious to avoid; but also the opium traffic had commenced more briskly than ever, the destruction of such an enormous quantity having created an exceptional demand. Indeed, so greatly was this evil accentuated that it drew from Captain Elliot the description: "The coasts are delivered over to a state of things which seems likely to pass from the worst character of a forced trade to plain buccaneering."

Lin now had recourse to other measures. He ordered that all persons dealing with foreigners in Canton should be licensed; he removed the whole of the unlicensed trading population which had gathered near the Factories; he erected barriers in the streets, and he built a stockade around the Factories themselves. These were natural steps. If the foreigners would not pledge themselves to abstain from importing opium under penalties which to the Chinese seemed right and proper, if even those that had promised to abandon the introduction of the poison were now again eagerly engaged importing it, and if even the British superintendent himself resented any heroic measures to crush the traffic, there remained nothing for Lin except to isolate the foreign Factories and to organise strict supervision over the Chinese dealing there. Yet for adopting these almost inevitable precautions, he incurred very hostile criticism, and was accused of seeking to convert the Factories at Canton into a second

Deshima; in other words, accused of planning to place the foreigners in a species of island prison, such as that to which the Dutch merchants had been confined by the Japanese for more than two centuries.

During the period of highly strained relations that now ensued various incidents tended to aggravate the situation. Lin sought to render Hongkong untenable for the English in order to enforce their return to Canton, and the measures he took for that purpose led directly to armed collisions of more or less gravity and indirectly to assaults with deadly violence. Finally, in presence of the unflinching resolution of the British not to sign any bond placing the lives of smugglers at the mercy of Chinese justice, Lin showed a disposition to waive that demand, and a *modus vivendi* had almost been elaborated when a British ship-master, separating himself from the union of his nationals, subscribed the bond as dictated by Lin, and the latter was thus induced to resume his uncompromising attitude. Things culminated in a naval engagement. On this occasion the belligerent initiative was taken by the British. Two of the latter's men-of-war having moved up the river, partly to demonstrate, partly to reconnoitre, found a fleet of war-junks, which they determined to attack. There is no reason to suppose that the Chinese, on their side, contemplated offensive action or that their squadron had any purpose not purely defensive:

the attack upon them was confessedly a precaution against eventualities. The junks, as was inevitable, suffered severely. A convenient breeze enabled the British frigates to sail up and down the line of these frail craft, raking them with port and starboard broadsides of heavy guns, and the Chinese, though fighting stoutly, failed to inflict any appreciable injury on their assailants.

Lin now played the last card in his losing game. He obtained an imperial edict interdicting British trade altogether. Other nationals were suffered to continue their commerce at Canton, but against the British absolute discrimination was enforced. No appeal now remained except to the sword. The Governor-General of India received authority to declare war and to make provisions for waging it.

When the above facts are reviewed, it becomes plain that this conflict, the first open war between China and an European Power, had its remote origin, primarily, in Great Britain's failure to organise any machinery for the control of her nationals trading in China, and, secondarily, in her objection to their control by Chinese machinery; and had its proximate cause in an ill-judged attempt on the part of the Chinese to terminate by hasty and heroic measures a trade which had attained large dimensions through the corrupt connivance of her own officials. Morally the Chinese were altogether in the right. Tactically they blundered. No nation ever entered the

lists with better warrant if the sequence of incidents alone be considered. The British Government itself, when it essayed to state its cause at the bar of public opinion, could not find more plausible counts than that its subjects had been insulted and injured; that its merchants had sustained loss, and that tradal relations must be secured against such disturbance. Many apologists contended that the radical trouble lay in China's arrogant assumption of superiority to all outside nations and her refusal to associate with them on equal terms. As to that, it must be observed that the pettiest Occidental nation has always claimed to be immeasurably superior to China, and has always refused to associate with her on equal terms. Her pretensions are paralleled and surpassed by those of the peoples that condemn them most loudly. Every European and every American openly asserts his racial eminence above the Chinese, and to class him with them would be an unforgivable insult. It was not because China set herself above Great Britain that the latter failed to provide means for the due control of her subjects trading within the former's territories. It was because in China's case Great Britain acknowledged no obligation to conform with international usages never neglected in the Occident. Neither was it because of any pride of race that China gradually narrowed her association with foreigners until Canton became the sole lawful emporium of their trade. It was

because their disorderly and masterful conduct had displayed them in the light of intolerable associates. It was not because she entertained any project of terminating their commerce and driving them from her coasts that she instructed Commissioner Lin to adopt the measures which finally involved her in war. It was because they had introduced into their commerce an unlawful element which threatened to debilitate her people morally and physically and to exhaust her treasure. But for opium-smuggling by British subjects the war would never have taken place, so far as human intelligence can discern. History can have only one verdict in the matter. It is impossible to doubt that, had opium been an insignificant article of commerce, a country where the public conscience is so highly developed as it is in England, would never have officially associated herself with such a traffic, or questioned China's right to crush it by the exercise of any measures however drastic. But opium was not an insignificant article of commerce. It was the lubricant which kept the whole machinery of England's Eastern trade running smoothly and satisfactorily. India owed England a large sum, and further bought from her every year much more than she sold to her. To redress the balance and to meet payments on account of interest and principal, considerable sums of specie should have been transmitted annually from Calcutta to London. On the other hand, England's purchases every

year from China greatly exceeded her sales to her, and consequently some millions sterling of specie should have been sent annually from London to Canton. Here it was that opium performed such a cardinal function. India discharged her debt to England with opium, and this being carried by British merchants to China, England in turn discharged her debt to China with the drug. Thus, in fine, the flow of specie from India to England and from England to China was avoided, and to complete the economic advantage the British Government of India derived a bulky item of revenue by taxing the opium before its shipment for China. If the magnitude of a sacrifice on the altar of international morality excuses reluctance to make it, there is much to extenuate England's offence. If the vastness of the material interests involved imposes upon statecraft any obligation of circumspection in dealing with them, the reckless precipitancy of Commissioner Lin's attempt to kill this giant commerce by a thunder-clap process of extinction, deserved the fate that overtook it.

The incidents of wars have little permanent interest except in so far as they illustrate racial characteristics or reveal the origin of history-making forces. This Anglo-Chinese war, which lasted for nearly three years in the form of a series of more or less disconnected operations, was chiefly remarkable for the smallness of the force

with which England commenced and conducted it. At no time were the British Generals able to put more than nine thousand men into the fighting line, and on the eve of the crowning effort of the campaign, Sir Hugh Gough found himself under the walls of Nanking with only forty-five hundred effectives. Contrasting the insignificance of such an army with the immense resources, vast extent, and enormous population of the Empire against which it was launched, the annalist is puzzled to determine whether the enterprise showed unparalleled temerity or singular perspicacity. Rash or wise, however, it was amply justified by the event. The Chinese often displayed conspicuous bravery; often preferred death at their posts to retreat or surrender when the former would have been easy and the latter was invited. But equipment of the most ineffective kind, antiquated tactics, and almost total lack of discipline reduced their resistance to the level of childish impotence. In truth the war seemed to have been expressly designed by the powers that control national destinies as an object lesson to show China the hollowness of her grandiose pretensions and the immense superiority of the destructive forces that Western civilisation could command.

The instructions given to the officer in command of the British expedition left him a tolerably free hand provided that he achieved the task of conveying a communication from Her

Majesty's Foreign Secretary to Peking. But the composition of the expeditionary force helped to determine the nature of its operations. An exceedingly small army and a comparatively strong naval squadron, consisting of five warships with several light-draught gunboats specially built for inland-water service, indicated the blockading of coast-towns and the attack of riverine cities as the most feasible programme. Therefore Canton was first blockaded — to the great astonishment of Commissioner Lin, who had scoffed at the idea of such a presumptuous *coup;* then the island of Chusan, lying farther north along the coast, was seized for a base; and then Amoy and Ningpo were blockaded. But nowhere could a local official be found willing to undertake the responsibility of transmitting Lord Palmerston's despatch to Peking. It became necessary, therefore, that the British should act as their own messengers. With that object they proceeded to the mouth of the Peiho River menacing an advance to the capital itself. Met there by a Chinese commissioner, — Kishen, Viceroy of Chili, — they were induced to transfer the scene of negotiations to Canton, where direct information as to all the points in dispute could be obtained *in loco.* This is regarded by some annalists as a turning-point in the campaign. They accuse Captain Elliot of a fatal blunder in not pushing on to Peking, where the possibility of his advent was supposed to have already thrown

the Court into consternation. But the force at the disposal of the British envoy was totally inadequate for such an enterprise as a long march inland, involving the capture of many towns and forts *en route*, the maintenance of communications with a naval base a hundred miles distant, and finally the assault of a vast city protected by a wall which could not be breached without heavy artillery. If the British plenipotentiary had suggested such a mad project to the military and naval commanders, he would have provoked their ridicule. On the other hand, these same annalists do not hesitate to allege that in seeking to shift the scene of negotiations to Canton, the Chinese acted with characteristic treachery, having no intention of seriously discussing peace-terms either there or anywhere else. There have been many European and American accounts of China's foreign relations. Their compilers differ frequently in the details of the narratives, sometimes even in the main facts. But with few exceptions they agree in ascribing all China's acts to motives of duplicity and in denying the possibility of obtaining any concession from her except by displays of force. Through assiduous iteration these propositions have become proverbial. They have little basis of fact. Occidental appreciations of China have been derived chiefly from writers unconsciously prejudiced against her; writers who approached their task with a natural desire to find justification for the West in

every collision with her. If it be granted that without an exhibition of force no satisfactory result can be achieved in dealing with her, then force is at once warranted, and if it be assumed that treachery is the mainspring of all her proceedings, then to treat her with trust or consideration becomes mere weakness. Two such postulates make it easy to vindicate any course of procedure adopted by Occidental Powers towards China. An Eastern country like China is always exposed to injustice of that kind at Western hands. Unable to tell them her history from her own point of view, she appears to them by the light of their versions solely. Yet China has annals composed in her own language; admirable annals whose perusal moved a distinguished sinologue to speak of "the extraordinary faithfulness with which the Chinese endeavour to perfect their histories." In the account of the "opium war" — for by that name the conflict of 1840–42 is known and will always be known to the Chinese — a straightforward and perfectly credible explanation is given of the transfer of the negotiations from the Peiho to Canton. The British plenipotentiaries demanded an indemnity for the opium destroyed and also required that the Hong system should be abolished. Now, with regard to the matter of the opium, rumours had reached Peking impugning Commissioner Lin's conduct: it was said that he had promised compensation when demanding the

surrender of the drug, and that his failure to implement the promise had precipitated war. Naturally the Throne desired to have that point elucidated before conceding or rejecting the British demand, and in order to elucidate it Kishen was despatched to Canton on a mission of inquiry. Concerning the Hong system, too, no intelligent discussion was possible in Chili, hundreds of miles distant from the place where alone the system had been in operation. Nothing could be more reasonable than the transfer of the negotiations to Canton. On his arrival there, Kishen, after examining all the archives relating to the opium incident, failed to find any flaw in Lin's procedure. Nevertheless he offered to pay compensation for the opium. Chinese annals show that whereas English writers accuse Kishen of treacherously temporising in order to gain time for warlike preparations, he was actually incurring odium among his own nationals for steadily discountenancing any military or naval measures inconsistent with a peaceful purpose. Constrained, however, by strenuous local opposition, he would not agree to Great Britain's demand for the cession of Hongkong, and that divergence of views led to the bombardment and capture of the outer defences of Canton, which operation silenced his opponents and enabled him to conclude a treaty ceding Hongkong, engaging to pay six million dollars for the opium, agreeing to direct official intercourse on a footing of

equality, and promising the immediate resumption of British trade at Canton.

But the Emperor refused to ratify this agreement. That again has been frequently adduced as an example of Chinese bad faith. When, however, has the doctrine been established that a sovereign is irrevocably bound by the acts of his plenipotentiaries? Were such a principle admitted, ratification would become a superfluity. If the Chinese Emperor declined to ratify the Elliot-Kishen treaty because it conceded too much to England, the Queen of England, on her side, refused to ratify it because it conceded too little. What Chinese history tells about the Throne's instructions to Kishen is that he was directed to grant freedom of trade if that would satisfy the British, but in the event of their proving exorbitant, he was to protract the negotiations so as to gain time for strengthening his defences and obtaining reinforcements. Kishen, however, commenced by disbanding a large part of his troops, and then carried his concessions far beyond the Emperor's limit. Hence, when the text of the compact reached Peking, the Emperor indignantly rejected it, declared that he would not pay a dollar for the opium or yield an inch of territory; ordered the muster of troops at Canton and restored Lin to favour.

Commissioner Lin's views at this juncture mark him as one of China's shrewdest statesmen. He had allowed himself to be betrayed into a

desperately daring course for the suppression of the opium traffic. But he now enunciated a policy which his country adopted long afterwards with remarkable success; the policy of playing off China's foreign "friends" against each other. Seeing that the prolonged interruption of trade at Canton was beginning to exasperate other nationals, he advised that they be urged to remonstrate with England; and at the same time he recommended that China should equip herself with Western ships and Western weapons of war, and that she should assume a strictly defensive attitude, leaving England to wear herself out by indecisive attacks. No one has ever bettered that advice. It was given in 1840. Had China then adopted it as the basis of her foreign policy, and had she thereafter followed it persistently, her position would be very different to-day. But Lin had lost favour in Peking at the time when this counsel was given. He was judged to have made a complete failure with his heroic measures, and he remained in disgrace until partially rehabilitated by the ill-success of Kishen's pacific programme.

The abortive convention concluded between Kishen and Elliott passed into history under the name of the "Treaty of the Bogue." Its rejection led to a series of incidents. First the British attacked and captured the outworks at Canton, whereupon trade was resumed with the utmost expedition, foreign merchants hastening

to procure the season's tea, and Chinese authorities to gather duty on the shipments. This brief interval of commercial calm was interrupted by an attempt — to which, of course, the epithet "treacherous" is applied by many historians — on the part of the Chinese to expel the invaders. But the latter, assuming the offensive, pushed up to the walls of the city, and had actually placed their batteries in position to bombard it, when negotiations recommenced and the British plenipotentiary agreed to accept a ransom of six million dollars for the threatened town. His act of clemency was strongly condemned by certain critics who held that only by the capture of Canton could the Chinese have been taught the futility of further resistance. Probably these critics judged rightly. There were in China at that time a war party and a peace party. The Emperor sided with the former. His Majesty had not yet abandoned the hope of making all concessions conditional on the suppression of the opium trade, and since the British Government was determined not to pledge itself to co-operate for that purpose, though equally determined not to openly avow its resolve, the most humane course would have been that those charged with the conduct of the campaign should strike the strongest and most decisive blows in their power so as to deprive the Chinese of all illusions. Captain Elliot's instincts, however, always ranged themselves against proceed-

ing to extremities. He overvalued menace, and constantly forgot that operations of war to be effectively victorious must be convincing from the enemy's point of view. An European general stopping short of the measure of destruction they would themselves have meted out, seemed to the Chinese not merciful but impotent. Thus, though the ransom of Canton cost heavily, and though the operations preceding it involved the death of some five thousand of the defenders against only fourteen killed on the side of the assailants, as well as the temporary loss of a vast quantity of cannon and warlike material, the Chinese were able to say at the end that they had bought off the enemy, and were further able to report to the Throne that the captured guns had all been recovered, and that the questions of the cession of Hongkong and compensation for the opium destroyed by Lin were no longer pressed by the British. Clemency such as Captain Elliot showed, however laudable from a moral point of view, could not be wisely exercised towards Chinese generals, who, even if they appreciated the motive, would certainly pervert the fact into a proof that their own failures had been only partial. It is extravagant to say, as is often said, that the Chinese do not understand kindness or appreciate clemency. But it is certain that their officials have often sought to win dishonest credit for themselves by representing foreign generosity as a compulsory concession to

their own powers. Several illustrations are furnished by this very war. Thus, owing to their care for the wounded, their peaceful demeanour towards the inhabitants, and their avoidance of extortion, the British troops operating in the north won golden opinions, so that, to quote Chinese annals, "the people of Chili and Shantung vied with each other in their representations of the modest character of the enemy." But the same history states that "in consequence of these things the Governor of Shantung sent presents to the foreign fleet, and then represented to the Emperor that the foreigners had come ashore and made obeisance in a body." Again, when the British evacuated Ningpo on receipt of a ransom of $200,000 and in accordance with the plan of campaign, Yikking reported that he had forced them to retire and had recovered Ningpo, whereas, Chinese annals frankly say, "the retirement had nothing whatever to do with the movements of our armies." Such exaggerations become explicable by noting that the failures of a Chinese general are always attributed by the Throne to his own incompetence and are punished without discrimination. He is perpetually at the bar of hostile judgment, and unless he can make out a case for himself, the consequences of his ill-success are dire. Under menace of such danger the love of truth yields to the instinct of self-preservation. But after all, since records of modern conflicts between Occidental peoples

seem likely to elevate the lie into an orthodox weapon of war, it appears that the Western critic is scarcely qualified to denounce Chinese duplicity with too much vehemence.

Canton had now secured exclusion from the range of warlike operations, and foreign trade recommenced there with fresh vigour. But Great Britain's objects were still unachieved. She had not obtained a *point d'appui* in China; nor yet the opening of additional ports; nor yet compensation for the destroyed opium; nor yet due recognition of her officials. Before describing the measures she subsequently took to accomplish these ends, it is interesting to note the comments made by the Chinese historian Wei Yüan in summing up this first chapter of the war: —

It was the closing of trade, and not the forced surrender of the opium, that brought on the Canton War, the events leading to which were the objections generally to sign away the lives of opium traders and specifically to deliver over the homicide (of a Chinese subject killed by an unidentified British sailor in Hongkong). . . . The Hoppo (superintendent of customs) and his men, whose irregular charges more than doubled the import duties, and who had been battening for years upon the Co-hong merchants, should have been compelled, instead of the latter, to pay for the war. It would have been better to sacrifice the customs' interests for a time; to devote full attention to measures of defence, and, by abolishing the Hoppo's extortions, to secure the goodwill of the other foreigners. Just as the Astronomical Board avails itself of foreign astronomers' labours, so we might have got a few Americans, Dutchmen, and Por-

tuguese to instruct Chinese artificers at Canton in the art of shipbuilding and have offered to purchase foreign ships, guns, rockets, and powder from any persons wishing to sell. Not only could we have obtained these articles in exchange for our produce, but we might have accepted them in payment of duties. In this way we might have been content to extract a few millions only from the Co-hong merchants, and in a short time we should have been able to confront foreign skill with Chinese skill. We could have leisurely strengthened the walls of outer Canton and the forts upon the river; got our armies properly together, and trained them up to naval tactics, gradually extending the same reforms to Amoy, Ningpo, and Shanghai; after which a grand review might have been held of all the fleet at Tientsin, and such a spectacle of naval greatness witnessed as China had never seen before. What enemy would then have dared to attack us? How could opium then have ventured into China? What slanderers would have then dared to open their mouths? This would have been what may be called "setting your own house in order first."[1]

It has already been shown that Commissioner Lin, at that early epoch, mapped out the only policy which his country's statesmen could have adopted with any hope of success, and which, in later years, they were driven to adopt partially. The above extract from Wei's history shows further that the lessons of the opium war were not lost upon thoughtful Chinese of the time. China herself, however, failed to profit by the knowledge.

[1] See Appendix, note 1.

Meanwhile the British had concluded that, in order to obtain the concessions they desired, a blow must be struck at some vital part of China's huge frame, since she remained insensible to injuries inflicted at remote places like Canton and Amoy. The most obvious course would have been to march against the capital itself. But seeing that for such an expedition the forces available would have been totally inadequate, some other plan had to be devised. It was found in the Yangtse. On the broad bosom of that great river the British seventy-fours could manœuvre easily; along its banks lay several of the chief towns of the Empire, including the mediæval capital, Nanking; to hold possession of this water-way would be to command the country's principal highway; and by establishing a blockade at Chinkiang where the Grand Canal joins the river, the passage of all rice-bearing junks to Peking would be intercepted. Such, then, was the programme adopted. The British commenced it by delivering a series of assaults at places along the coast. Amoy was taken; then Tinghai on the island of Chusan; then Chunhai, and finally Ningpo. At the first three of these places extensive preparations for defence had been made, and in many instances the Chinese fought with conspicuous bravery. But the strategical ignorance of the generals made them powerless against flank attacks, and want of intelligent co-operation or discipline among the various units

of their forces rendered all their plans futile. It was at Chapu, some fifty miles north of Chunhai, that Manchu braves first encountered British soldiers, and there first the latter witnessed the terrible Manchurian custom of immolating all their women and children and subsequently perpetrating self-destruction, at the moment of hopeless defeat. Thereafter Sir Hugh Gough and his small force proceeded to the mouth of the Yangtse, where at Wusung they found a line of stone forts extending for three miles along the western bank of the river and mounting two hundred and four guns, many of them obsolete and worthless. In the defence of this strong position the Chinese sacrificed only thirty lives, and thenceforward they made no attempt to check the advance of a British column, which landed and marched up the Whampoa, a tributary of the Yangtse, to Shanghai, twelve miles distant. There is no evidence that either side attached cardinal importance to the capture of this city. Though included in the five places which the British desired to have opened to trade, no one had then any conception that it would ultimately rise to be the greatest commercial emporium of the Far East. It had been visited just ten years previously by a British merchant and a missionary acting as interpreter, — in those days missionaries did not scruple to lend their aid for the prosecution of illegal attempts to extend the area of trade, — and their report of its commercial po-

tentialities, confirmed by that of another missionary who equally defied the laws three years later, directed foreign attention to the place. When the British arrived there on the 19th of June, 1842, they found a city with walls measuring three and a half miles in circuit and mounting three hundred and eighty-eight guns, but one broadside from the squadron which had sailed up the river silenced the only show of resistance, and the town escaped all injury, the government granaries alone being destroyed by the invaders, who distributed among the people the rice stored there.

The last and most painful episode of this war was the storming and destruction of Chinkiang. This city lies about one hundred and fifty miles from the mouth of the Yangtse on the southern bank. Its walls at the time of the British attack had a circuit of some four miles, and the city itself was garrisoned by a mixed body of Manchus, Mongols, and Chinese, numbering about three thousand, while in the extramural suburbs an equal force of Chinese was posted. The defenders within and without the city did not attempt to work in concert, but whereas the Chinese offered a comparatively feeble resistance, the Tartars and Mongols stood to their posts bravely, and, when all was lost, followed the example of their comrades at Chapu, destroying their wives and children and afterwards committing suicide.

Frightful were the scenes witnessed by the British burial party among the houses and enclosures of the city, as group after group of whole families lying stiffened in their blood, within their own homestead, were discovered in the streets occupied by the Tartar troops and mandarins. . . . The bodies of most of the hapless little children who had fallen sacrifices to the enthusiasm and mad despair of their parents were found lying within the houses, and usually in the chambers of the women, as if each father had assembled the whole of his family before consummating the dreadful massacre; but many corpses of boys were lying in the streets, among those of horses and soldiers, as if an alarm had spread, and they had been stabbed while attempting to escape from their ruthless parents. In a few instances these poor little sufferers were found the morning after the assault, still breathing, the tide of life slowly ebbing away, as they lay writhing in the agony of a broken spine, — a mode of destruction so cruel that, but for the most certain evidence of its reality, it would not be believed. In one of the houses the bodies of seven dead and dying persons were found in one room, forming a group which for loathsome horror was perhaps unequalled. The house was evidently the abode of a man of some rank and consideration, and the delicate forms and features of the sufferers denoted them as belonging to the higher order of Tartars. On the floor, essaying in vain to put food with a spoon into the mouths of two young children extended on a mattress, writhing in the agonies of death caused by the dislocation of their spines, sat an old decrepit man, weeping bitterly as he listened to the piteous moans and convulsive breathings of the poor infants, while his eye wandered over the ghastly relics of mortality around him. On a bed near the dying children lay the body of a beautiful young woman, her limbs and ap-

parel unchanged as if in sleep. She was cold and had been long dead. One arm clasped her neck, over which a silk scarf was thrown, to conceal the gash in her throat which had destroyed her life. Near her lay the corpse of a woman somewhat more advanced in years, stretched on a silk coverlet, her features distorted, and her eyes open and fixed, as if she had died by poison or strangulation. . . . A dead child stabbed through the neck lay near her; and in the narrow verandah adjoining the room, were the corpses of two more women suspended from the rafters by twisted cloths wound round their necks. They were both young — one quite a girl — and her features, in spite of the hideous distortion produced by the mode of her death, retained traces of their original beauty sufficient to show the lovely mould in which they had been cast. (Ouchterlony.)

Hailing, the Tartar general in command at Chinkiang, is described in Chinese history as an "imbecile creature," and is said to have fallen at the hands of his own men. The account given in the "Chinese War" by Ouchterlony is very different: —

For some time after the capture of the city the fate of the brave General Hailing, who had so nobly conducted its defence, was uncertain. . . . At length Mr. Morrison, the interpreter, discovered a man who had acted in the capacity of secretary to Hailing, secreted in an out-house of a building in the Tartar quarter, and from him he elicited the particulars of the fate of this gallant man. After haranguing his troops he had mounted his horse, and placing himself at their head, led them to the ground where their desperate attack upon the 18th and 49th regiments was made; thence,

seeing that the main defences of the town were in our possession, and that the day was irretrievably lost, he returned to his house, and calling for his secretary, desired him to bring his official papers into a small room adjoining an inner court of the building, where deliberately seating himself, and causing the papers with a quantity of wood to be piled up around him, he dismissed the secretary, set fire to the funeral pile, and perished in the flames.

The war ended here. Moving on to Nanking, the invaders were fortunately delayed by a faulty reconnaissance, so that before the attack could be delivered, plenipotentiary power to treat for peace reached the Chinese generals, and thus the horror was averted of the sack and possible destruction of a city whose magnitude may be estimated from the fact that it was surrounded by walls twenty-two miles in circuit, from twenty to forty feet thick, and from forty to ninety feet high.

The negotiations that ensued were of the briefest description. Two hours sufficed to settle the conditions of peace, though two days were required to commit them to ideographic script. The Chinese, in truth, were not in a position to discuss; they had only to obey.

Before moving up the Yangtse for Shanghai the British plenipotentiary, Sir Henry Pottinger, — who had succeeded Captain Elliot, — published a manifesto setting forth the grievances of which his country complained. The acts of Commissioner Lin at Canton headed the list, and it was alleged that the opium had been given up by

the British merchants in order to escape death. Other charges were formulated, some of them relating to incidents connected with the conduct of the war and therefore in no way responsible for its inception; some to circumstances which certainly could not in themselves have constituted a warrant for any international rupture. In the latter category were marshalled restriction of foreign trade to Canton, a restriction plainly within China's sovereign right to impose; maintenance of the Hong Merchants monopoly, a system not only justified by the failure of the British to establish any competent machinery for the control of their nationals, but also paralleled by the monopoly they had themselves conferred on the East India Company; exactions to which the trade was subjected by these merchants, exactions in spite of which it flourished and grew to large dimensions; and other petty grievances whose appearance in the preamble of a declaration of war lent to the whole missive an air of insincerity. In the former category were included duplicity on the part of the Chinese Government in sending Kishen to negotiate peace at Canton and then suddenly resuming the struggle, a charge based on the strange hypothesis that the mere fact of agreeing to negotiate binds a ruler to accept the terms offered by his enemies; cruel treatment of prisoners, an accusation true in some cases but most untrue in others;[1] finally, mendacious re-

[1] See Appendix, note 2.

ports of Chinese victories sent to the Emperor, a most extraordinary grievance, which, although undoubtedly consistent with facts, had never previously figured, and will probably never again figure, among reasons publicly advanced by a civilised Power for taking up arms against another State. Not one word did the document say about the opium trade. That, the real cause of the war, was carefully ignored. When the final conference took place under the walls of Nanking, the Chinese plenipotentiaries imitated this reticence. Their Emperor had proclaimed the opium trade and his repressive efforts to have been the cause of the war. But when his officers found that neither the legalising nor the sanctioning of this infamous traffic was included in the terms of peace dictated by the victor, they prudently kept silence, obeying their familiar proverb that "the way to rouse the snake is to disturb the cane-brake." Sir Henry Pottinger, however, introduced the subject as a topic for "private conversation," and what followed was this: —

> They then evinced much interest, and eagerly requested to know why we would not act fairly toward them by prohibiting the growth of the poppy in our dominions, and thus effectually stop a traffic so pernicious to the human race. This he [Sir Henry Pottinger] said, in consistency with our constitutional laws, could not be done; and he added that even if England chose to exercise so arbitrary a power over her tillers of the soil, it would not check the evil, so far as the Chinese were concerned, while the cancer

remained uneradicated among themselves, but that it would merely throw the market into other hands. It, in fact, he said, rests entirely with yourselves. If your people are virtuous, they will desist from the evil practice; and if your officers are incorruptible and obey your rulers, no opium can enter your country. The discouragement of the growth of the poppy in our territories rests principally with you, for nearly the entire produce cultivated in India travels east to China. If, however, the habit has become a confirmed vice, and you feel that your power is at present inadequate to stay its indulgence, you may rest assured your people will procure the drug in spite of every enactment. (Loch's "Events in China," London, 1843.)

To Chinese possessing some knowledge of English history and some power of ratiocination these arguments of Sir Henry Pottinger's must have sounded very remarkable. That England, which enforced stringent laws against unlicensed distilling of whiskey within the United Kingdom, should be constitutionally debarred from checking the cultivation of the poppy in her Indian Dependency; that Englishmen who, because China allowed the growing of poppies at home, denied the sincerity of her objections to opium-imports from abroad, should declare themselves debarred by the rights of individuals from interdicting the growing of poppies in India; that Great Britain, who made war upon the Chinese, killed thousands of their people and exacted millions of their treasure because some of their officials had been sufficiently honest and loyal to

endeavour to check the import of opium, should, through the mouth of her plenipotentiary, inform them that if their officials were incorrupt and obeyed orders, no opium could enter the country; and that a civilised government should plead confirmed indulgence in a vice as a valid excuse for ministering to it, — that such a medley of contradictions, inconsistencies, and false morality should have been seriously advanced by Sir Henry Pottinger at an international conference, may well have filled the Chinese with amazement.

However, this "private conversation" did not leave any impress on the treaty. The provisions of that document were that Canton, Amoy, Fuchou, Ningpo, and Shanghai should be opened to British trade conducted according to a fixed traffic; that Hongkong should be ceded to England; that China should pay twenty-one million dollars, namely, six millions for the destroyed opium, three millions for debts due to British merchants, and twelve millions for the cost of the campaign; that prisoners should be released and amnesty granted to Chinese who had aided the British, and that official correspondence should be on terms of equality. The opium question, it will be observed, was entirely ignored.

The conclusion of this treaty marked an epoch in the history not of China alone but of the world. At the moment, however, its far-reaching consequences were not appreciated.

Chapter II

THE PROPAGANDA AND CHINESE RELIGIONS

ONE of the statements made by Ouchterlony in his "Chinese War" is this: "About the time [1842] of the entrance of the Yangtze by the expedition, a number of Catholic missionaries took advantage of the general confusion and of the temporary dispersal of the Mandarins, to follow in our wake and effect a landing on the banks of the river, for the purpose of penetrating, in the disguise of Chinese (being accompanied and directed by native converts brought up in the institution of the Propaganda), into the heart of the Empire, to carry out those projects and fulfil those sacred vows upon which their lives are so devotedly staked and so often sacrificed."

It has been shown in a previous chapter that up to the overthrow of the Mongol dynasty by the Min in the fourteenth century, the eighteen provinces of China were open to the preaching and practice of every creed; that Nestorians, Mohammedans, Jews, and Roman Catholics took

advantage of this liberty of conscience to promulgate their doctrines; that the eminent Franciscan monk Montecorvino settled in Peking at the beginning of the fourteenth century; that at the time of his death in 1328 he had converted three hundred thousand Chinese; and that with the expulsion of the Mongol usurpers Christian propagandists of all denominations disappeared from China, having identified themselves with the losing side, and followed the Mongols into a nomad life among the wastes of central Asia. Even during that early period of officially unrestricted effort the cause of Christianity did not escape the disfigurement of quarrels among its champions. Neither to that habitual misfortune, however, nor yet to dogmatic intolerance did it owe the disfavour into which it finally fell. The simple explanation seems to be that though Latins and Nestorians were mutually hostile, both threw in their lot with the Yuan Mongols, and thus both became involved in the proscription that overtook the latter.

Thereafter, during fully two centuries, China remained beyond the pale of Christian efforts, nor was it until thirty-six years subsequently to the arrival of Portuguese commercial adventurers at Canton that, in 1552, a preacher of the gospel found his way to China. Xavier, or St. Francis Xavier as he is generally called, coming fresh from his labours in Japan, experienced at the hands of the Portuguese traders in Macao an

earnest of the enmity usually displayed by the foreign mercantile class in the Far East towards Christian missionaries. Obstacles were offered to his landing, and he was warned that strangers might not enter the country, — a veto little respected by these traders themselves, though they so strongly urged its inviolability when inclination prompted obedience. Not to be deterred by such difficulties, Xavier landed, under cover of night, on a little island — Sancian, or St. John — some thirty miles from Macao. There he died without reaching the mainland or overcoming the opposition of his own countrymen, more obdurate than even the Chinese.

Another interval of thirty years now elapsed, and finally, in 1580, Michael Ruggiero (Rogier), an Italian Jesuit, arrived in Macao, whither he was shortly followed by Matthew Ricci. The two men applied themselves to acquire the Chinese language, and brought such zeal to the work that after less than two years' study — a period brief indeed in the eyes of all that have attempted the task — they were able to act as negotiators in a dispute between their countrymen and the Chinese authorities. That was their opportunity, and they did not fail to seize it. By a mixture of cajolery and deception they persuaded the Governor of Kwantung to grant them a little land with permission to "construct a house and a church where they might pass their time in prayer and study, in solitude and meditation,

INTERIOR OF CHINESE STORE.

A RELIGIOUS PROCESSION.

which they could not do at Macao on account of the tumult and bustle" of commercial activity. "They had at last ascertained with their own eyes that the Celestial Empire was even superior to its brilliant reputation, and they desired to end their days in it." Not a word was said about Christian propagandism. Ruggiero and Ricci wore the garb of Buddhist priests, and when the governor acceded to their request, he cannot have entertained any suspicion of their real purpose.

These Jesuits and many of those that followed them in China, as well as many of their sect now working in that country and in Japan, fully deserve to be called heroes. There is no higher form of heroism than theirs. Their lives of silent, ceaseless, and unrewarded effort, their absolute abnegation of self, their patient endurance of privations and hardships, their noble disregard of every object of earthly ambition, their unflagging zeal in the cause of their creed, — all these things are entirely beyond praise. But with these splendid attributes there is combined "the wisdom of the serpent," absolute confidence in the doctrine that the end justifies the means. It results that the story of the Propaganda in China during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, while on the one hand it is a story of heroic effort, is on the other a story from which "Oriental deception" might have learned how to deceive. If the tendency of western nations'

commercial relations with China has been to teach her the value of force, the tendency of Roman Catholic Propagandism has been to instruct her in the uses of craft.

Ricci — for with him alone need the history of the early Propaganda concern itself, so greatly did he excel his coadjutors in ability and tact — seems to have determined from the outset that a combination, not a conflict, of faiths should be the aim of his practice. Detecting with rare insight that any successful appeal to the educated classes in China must be made through the intellect, not through the emotions, he assumed the part of a professor of secular science rather than that of an expounder of theology; and perceiving that in order to avert the antagonism of the masses, which would be fatal to the prosecution of his work, tolerance of everything tolerable must be his rule of conduct, he set himself to think how far Christianity and the faiths he found in China might be associated without outraging the one or materially altering the other. Of course this inquiry is much easier to students in the twentieth century than it was to Ricci in the sixteenth. Ground comparatively new to him has been explored by numerous sinologues and philosophers whose conclusions are no longer seriously disputed.

The early religion of China — the term "early" being used in the sense of some five thousand years ago — was monotheistic, the

deity worshipped being known by one of three names, *tien*, *ti*, or *shangti*, which may be rendered "heaven," "god," and the "august god," respectively. It is easy to understand that the first of these words may have been employed in a dual sense, just as it is in the Occident, but there seems to be no room for doubt that when the early Chinese spoke of *tien* they intended to designate the great power which controls the universe. The reader will presently see that issues of vital bearing hinged upon the proper interpretation of this word, and that it inspired a controversy of profound importance to China. With regard to *ti*, also, much discussion has taken place. Its primitive significance was "god;" that is to say, the personified being to whom the term *tien* was applied impersonally. But some of the most revered among the early sovereigns of China, having been deified after their death, received from posterity the title *ti*, and in order to emulate their greatness a living ruler subsequently ventured to usurp the appellation. That happened in the third century before the Christian era, when *ti* had already been in use for nearly three thousand years as the name of the supreme being. The original sense of the term was not affected, of course, but its secularisation subsequently became a source of error to theologians not fully versed in history antecedent to that event. Spirits also were objects of early belief. They were distinguished according to the realm of their influence;

those celestial being called *shan*, and those terrestrial, *chi*. But into neither of these spiritual classes were the manes of departed mortals received; they took their place among a different order of beings, the *kwei*, or "demons" of vulgar phraseology. Concerning communication between heaven and mortals, there was the direct voice of God on rare occasions; the sun, the moon, and the stars were regarded as constant sources of revelation; and special methods of consulting the divine will were furnished by the lines on the back of a tortoise and by certain figures and formulæ which will be spoken of presently.

Here, then, was monotheism disfigured by animistic tendencies and by superstitious divination. It is true that worship was not confined to one supreme being. Spirits also received homage, but only of a secondary nature and only as doing service to men on behalf of God. The "Statutes of the Ming Dynasty" (1368–1642) contain two prayers to the celestial and terrestrial spirits, which, according to the view of an eminent sinologue, might almost seem to have been specially compiled to prevent the erroneous supposition that the early religion of China took its form from the principle of animism. Of course a ritual used from the fourteenth century onwards may not reflect accurately the religious belief of four thousand years previously. But since history shows that any change effected in the interval should have been in the direction of animism,

the ancient tradition is entitled to full credit for whatever freedom from that taint these prayers show. In one of the supplications, that to the celestial spirits, namely, the spirits of the cloud-master, the rain-master, the lord of the winds, and the thunder-master, the language runs thus: "It is your office, O spirits, to superintend the clouds and the rain, and to raise and send abroad the winds as ministers assisting *Shang-ti*. All the people enjoy the benefit of your service." In the other prayer, to the terrestrial spirits — those of the four seas and four great rivers, of the imperial domain, and of all the hills and rivers under the sky — the formula employed is: "It is yours, O spirits, with your heaven-conferred powers and nurturing influences, each to preside as guardian over one district, as ministers assisting the great worker and transformer, and thus the people enjoy your meritorious services." These spirits then are merely instruments of God's will, ministers of the Supreme being, who render service to man on behalf of high heaven. If, being associated with natural objects, they suggest the idea of fetichism, it is to be observed that they are not worshipped as gods, not as independent spiritual potencies, but only as heaven-appointed guardians of the different agencies of nature, in accordance with a plan designed by God for the good of mankind.

At a later period, but still earlier than the twenty-third century before the Christian era, the

dual form of worship described above — the worship of *Shang-ti* and the worship of spirits fulfilling his will — was supplemented by ancestor-worship, and the distinction came to be established that whereas homage to God on behalf of the whole people should be paid by the ruler of the State alone, homage to ancestors should be paid by each family or its head.

It will naturally be asked, on what evidence are these statements based; how can anything be confidently predicated about the religious belief of a people in ages long before means existed for accurately transmitting facts? The sources of evidence are two: first, ideographic and, secondly, historic. It has been shown, by processes of reasoning which cannot be set forth here in detail, that the earliest religious thoughts of the Chinese are reflected in the construction of their primitive written characters. In other words, by resolving into their component elements the ideographs for "heaven," "god," "spirit," and other cognate terms, the religious conceptions of the men that constructed these characters may be analysed.

The historic evidence is furnished by a remarkable series of works commonly called the Five Classics (*Wu-ching*). Of these the oldest is the *Shu-king*, or "book of records." It contains documents relating to Chinese history during a period of 1730 years, namely, from 2357 to 627 B. C., — documents such as imperial ordinances, statesmen's suggestions for the guidance of sov-

ereigns, instructions for princes, proclamations and injunctions to the people, mandates, announcements, canons to ministers of state, and ritualistic records. Sinologues are not agreed as to whether this remarkable work was compiled contemporaneously with the events to which its contents refer, but they are agreed that it may be considered historical in part, at any rate. Confucius gave the weight of his great authority to that view, for he edited a portion of the work and wrote a preface in which he called it "the highest book." The first two parts of the *Shu-king* relate to the period 2357-2207 B. C., when China's model rulers, Yao and Shun, governed the Empire. From these sections it is learned that there was in that era regular worship of God by Chinese sovereigns; that sacrifices were made to the hills and rivers, to the host of spirits, and to ancestors. In short, the canon shows monotheism associated with inferior worship of subordinate spirits as God's instruments in nature, and of ancestors.

The evidence furnished by the "book of records" is supplemented by that of the "book of odes" (*Shih-king*), which also belongs to the "Five-classics" series. Of these odes there were originally some three thousand, but only 305 survive. They are divided into "national airs," "lesser and greater eulogiums," and "sacrificial chants," and it is believed that the period of their composition extended from 1719 to 585 B. C.

Among sinologues the late Dr. Legge devoted great labour to amassing information about this remarkable collection of ancient poems. Judging from the trouble taken in bringing them together by Wan Wang and Duke Chou at the beginning of the twelfth century before Christ; from the fact that they were deposited for purposes of use and reference in the national archives as well as distributed among the feudatories, and from the remarks of Chinese commentators, it is inferred that they were regarded not merely as an anthology of remarkable verses, but also as a guide to the condition of the people and the methods of government in the various localities of their composition. They do not at all partake of an epic character: alike in China and in Japan the epic poem had no existence. Neither do they attain any high standard of poetic excellence, or deal with the stronger passions that sway humanity. But in spite of these inferiorities, in spite of metaphors often ill-chosen, illustrations occasionally puerile, and rhymes which, being necessarily monosyllabic, lack variety and cadence, the great age of these odes, their religious character, and the indications they furnish of Chinese customs and sentiments, invest them with exceptional interest. Their influence, too, upon the Chinese mind has been incalculable. Scarcely an educated lad in the immense realm fails to commit the whole 305 odes to memory before he offers himself at the competitive ex-

aminations which alone open the portals to an official career, and any youth hoping to see his name on the list of honour-winning candidates is careful to peruse the thousands of commentaries which the *Shih-king* has inspired.

Concerning the religious information furnished by these two books, the *Shu-king* and the *Shih-king*, the translator of the Chinese classics says:

> In both of these books many things are predicted of Heaven, Ti and Shang-ti, that are true only of the true God. He is the ruler of men and all this lower world. Men in general, the mass of the people, are his peculiar care. He appointed grain to be the chief nourishment of all. He watches especially over the conduct of kings, whom he has exalted to their high position for the good of the people. While they reverence Him and fulfil their duties in His fear, and with reference to His will, taking His ways as their pattern, He maintains them, smells the sweet savour of their offerings, and blesses them and their people with abundance and general prosperity. When they become impious and negligent of their duties, He punishes them, takes away the throne from them and appoints others in their place. His appointments come from His fore-knowledge and fore-ordination. Sometimes he appears to array himself in terrors and the course of His providence is altered. The evil in the State is ascribed to him. Heaven is called unpitying. But this is His strange work, in judgment, and to call men to repentance. He hates no one, and it is not He who really causes the evil time: that is a consequence of forsaking the old and right ways of government. In giving birth to the multitudes of the people, He gives them a good nature, but few are able to keep it and hold out good to the end.

There is a remarkable document of the Shu, called "The Establishment of Government," in which the consolidator and legislator of the Chou dynasty gives a summary of the history of the feudal kingdom down to his own time. Yu the Great, the founder of the Hsia dynasty, dating from B. C. 2205, "sought for able men who should honour God (in the discharge of their duties)." But the way of Chieh, the last of his line, was different. Those whom he employed were cruel men and he had no successor. The kingdom was given to Tang the successful, the founder of the Shang or Yin dynasty, who "grandly administered the bright ordinances of God." His reign dates from B. C. 1766; but Shou, the last of his line, came to the throne in 1254, and was cruel as Chieh had been. God in consequence "sovereignly punished him." The throne was transferred to the house of Chou, whose chiefs showed their fitness for their charge by "employing men to serve God with reverence, and appointed them as presidents and chiefs of the people," while all their other ministers, such as their officers of law, their treasurers and historiographers, were "men of constant virtue."

From the twelfth century before Christ it is found that the single object of worship hitherto spoken of, *Ti* or *Tien*, is replaced by a dualistic phrase, "heaven and earth," and the Emperor is seen sacrificing at a round altar to heaven on the day of the winter solstice and at a square altar to earth on the day of the summer solstice. Such is still the practice. It has led to misconceptions. Confucius seems to have appreciated the confusing character of the change, for he took care to explain that the "ceremonies of the sacrifices to

Heaven and Earth are those by which we serve *Shang-ti*." In brief, heaven was and is worshipped as representative of the divine majesty and authority, earth as representative of the divine care and love — the former paternal, the latter maternal. The prayers offered to *Shang-ti* by the sovereigns of the Ming dynasty bear further testimony to the fact that the original monotheism of the Chinese was then the State creed, just as it is to-day, and that if a number of spirits, celestial and terrestrial, were worshipped, they did not receive homage as gods but only as ministers of the one supreme divinity.

Sacrifices had no propitiatory or expiatory purpose: they were merely tokens of dutiful gratitude, expressing a sense "not of guilt but of dependence." The term "sacrifice" is in truth a misnomer as applied to the Chinese rites. What worshippers laid before the altar should be called an oblation, "an offering whereby communication and communion with spiritual beings was effected" — offerings of food, of drink, of incense, of precious stones, and of silks, and a whole burnt offering at the great solstitial service. It must be noted, too, that the Emperor did not act as the high priest of the nation. There is no such thing as a priesthood in the original religion of China. His majesty was not the "Son of Heaven" in a literal sense. He was the living representative of the family called by divine decree to rule the Empire, in the place of the

previous dynasty of sovereigns, who had shown themselves incompetent to discharge the task, and thus he became the "Son of Heaven" in the sense of being "the one man whom Heaven delighted to honour as if he were its first-born son, and to whom was delegated the duty of ruling the myriads of the people for their good in harmony with the divine will." Dr. Legge, discussing this part of the subject, says: —

The distinction of all the Chinese community into four classes is very ancient. It is named in one of the books of the *Shu* as an existing division in the twelfth century, B. C. The four classes were the official or cultured class, the husbandmen, the mechanics or workers, and the traders or merchants. This was a social and a religious distribution of the community; and owing to it there never appeared in China anything like the castes of Brahmanism. The official or cultured class have, all along the line of Chinese history, borne some resemblance to a clerical body. While the feudal system lasted, the members of this class were scions of the princely families of the different States, who had been educated in the schools set apart for them, and the shadowy forms of which we can dimly discern nearly four thousand years ago. When the element of rank disappeared from the community, that of education was developed and took its place. The literati generally became the ruling class, or the class from which, as a rule, the governors of the people should be chosen. They come nearest to our idea of a clerical body; but they are far enough from being priests, or even in any sense ministers of religion, unless when they are exercising some function in connection with State worship. The Emperor himself presides at the highest services

of that worship as a minister of religion, giving expression to the highest ideas of God that have been the inheritance of his nation for several millenniums, and acknowledging the dependence of all upon Him for life and breath and all things; but he does this as the parent and representative of the people, and not as a priest.

To this brief summary of China's ancient religion there remains to be added a word about her cosmogonal conceptions. On account of these she has been much ridiculed by Occidental theologians; but in truth the only thing that can be laid to her charge is an attempt to bring within the range of human intelligence processes and results which have hitherto proved wholly unintelligible. Some, indeed, of the prayers offered to *Shang-ti* suggest that the creation of the universe was ascribed by the Chinese, as it is ascribed by Christians, to an incomprehensible miracle. Thus the Emperor, praying at the round altar, says: "Of old, in the beginning, there was the great chaos, without form and dark. The first elements had not begun to revolve, nor the sun and moon to shine. In the midst, thereof, there presented itself neither form nor sound. Thou, O Spiritual Sovereign, came forth in thy presidency, and first didst divide the grosser parts from the purer. Thou madest heaven. Thou madest man. All things got their being with their producing power." These words might almost serve for an epitome of the story of crea-

tion as related in the Book of Genesis. But in another prayer the creative process is particularised: "O Ti, when Thou hadst opened the course for the inactive and active forces of matter to operate, Thy making work went on. Thou didst produce, O Spirit, the sun and moon and five planets; and pure and beautiful was their light. The vault of heaven was spread out like a curtain, and the square earth supported all on it and all creatures were happy." It is in the operation of these active and inactive forces that the Chinese cosmographist finds food for speculations bizarre and even grotesque in the eyes of Christians, who are content to think that the sole agent of creation was a supreme being's fiat. In the *I-king*, or Book of Changes — which is generally placed first among the Five Classics, though inferior in point of antiquity to both the *Shu-king* and the *Shih-king* — an attempt is made to reduce the working of the creative factors to symbolic form. Its compiler was Wan, king of the State of Chou, who, being thrown into prison (1185 B. C.) by his suzerain, passed his time devising a series of figures which should represent the qualities of nature, the principles of human society, and the conditions, actual or possible, of the kingdom. He took for the bases of his task two lines, — one whole, the other broken, — which represented the two forms of the subtle matter composing all things. In one form this matter is active, and called *yang;* in the other passive, and

called *yin*. Graphically represented, the *yang* became a whole line (——), the *yin* a divided line (— —). Everything strong and active in the universe belonged to the *yang* category, everything weak and passive to the *yin*, and thus was obtained a series of antimonies — heaven and earth, sun and moon, light and darkness, male and female, etc., — which in the aggregate made up the totality of being. This conception — to which the positive and negative currents of electricity suggest an obvious analogy — did not originate with Wan. It is attributed to a sovereign, Fu-hsi (3322 B. C.), founder of the Chinese nation, who took these *Liang-i* (two principles) and formed with them, first, four digrams (⚌ ⚍ ⚎ ⚏) and, next, eight trigrams (☰ ☱ ☲, etc.), the celebrated *Pah-kwa*, which enter so largely into all the decorative art of China. Each trigram in Fu-hsi's *Pah-kwa* represented, not only a natural object, as heaven, earth, water, fire, etc., but also an attribute, as strength, pleasure, brightness, etc., and a point of the compass. Wan extended this conception by forming sixty-four hexagrams, to which he appended as many short essays on important themes, mostly of a moral, social, and political character. The nomenclature of Wan's hexagrams, the attributes he assigned to them, and the compass points he attached to them, differed radically from the system of Fu-hsi. But that is a detail of minor importance. King Wan's son, Tan, whom his-

tory describes as a patriot and hero, a legislator and philosopher, took up the work at the point where his father had left it. Wan had synthesised; Tan analysed. The father treated each hexagram as a whole; the son treated each line separately, and made it suggest "some phenomenon in nature or some case of human experience from which the wisdom or folly, the luckiness or unluckiness, indicated by it could be inferred." It seems impossible now to determine what degree of esoteric significance attached to the original digrams and trigrams, but certainly the various figures ultimately elaborated by Wan and Tan, figures owing their dissimilarities to slight yet cardinal alterations in the positions and grouping of two short lines and one long, typified to those philosophers the perpetually changing fashion of the universe and of the beings that inhabit it. They conceived a primordial essence, which has been compared to the animated air of the Grecian thinker Anaximenes, and to "the spirit of God moving on the face of the waters" in the Christian cosmogony. This essence they supposed to be divided into a strong and a weak principle, which, acting and reacting upon each other, produced metamorphoses comparable to the four digrams, the eight trigrams, and the sixty-four hexagrams. Again, since success and failure in life are obviously the resultant of certain compositions of moral and material forces, relations, or conditions, the permutations of these conditions,

relations, or forces might equally be depicted by the digraphic, trigraphic, or hexagraphic groups, and their interactions by the positions of the lines in these groups. In a word, the same power that produced the universe continued, in this creed, to produce by the same processes all the vicissitudes to which men and things are subject. It will occur to the reader to inquire what share spiritual beings had in all this. The primordial essence, the *aura*, the breath of nature, was *Shang-ti's* creation, but the spirits, being ministers of his will, should act some part in the developments caused by the elements of that essence. That feature is not omitted. Spiritual beings are supposed to be the hidden operators of nature's changes, the *shan*, or heavenly spirits, operating with the *yang*, or strong principle, and the *kwei*, or spirits of departed mortals, operating with the *yin*, or weak principle. It would be incorrect to suppose, however, that the introduction of these spiritual agencies elucidates the problem. On the contrary, they represent the essentially unfathomable, incomprehensible processes of creative or causative operations. The active and passive principles, the expanding and contracting agencies, are supposed to account for much; but when they fail, when human intelligence finds itself confronted by a residuum which it cannot fathom, then the working of a spiritual power is to be inferred.

Side by side with these theories there grew up a system of divination which has been widely

practised in China from remote ages. The diviner, employing the stalks of a certain plant to represent the lines of the hexagrams, and manipulating them in accordance with certain observed indications, constructed figures supposed to represent the issue of any projected undertaking or of any anticipated conditions. It was not claimed that futurity could be laid bare by such means, but merely that, working upon given premises, the diviner could infer their due consequences. Divination, though it has great numbers of professors in China and though it is extensively credited by the masses, has long ceased to be thought worthy of educated attention. Nevertheless the *literati* have not by any means divested themselves of profound faith in the philosophic import of the digrams, the trigrams, and the hexagrams. Since Confucius himself said that were his life prolonged he would devote fifty years to the study of the *I-king*, it is evident that so long as the memory of the Sage remains green, the object of his reverence will continue to be revered by his nationals.

It is often stated that the worship of ancestors was introduced by Confucius. That is not so. Evidence furnished by the "Book of Records" shows clearly that the worship of ancestors was observed as early as the reign of Shun (2207 B. C.) What Confucius contributed to the custom was his most emphatic advocacy. "The service," he said, "which a filial son does to his parents is

as follows: In his general conduct to them he manifests the utmost reverence; in his nourishing of them his endeavour is to give them the utmost pleasure; when they are ill he feels the greatest anxiety; in mourning for them (dead) he exhibits every demonstration of grief; in sacrificing to them he displays the utmost solemnity. When a son is complete in these five things, he may be pronounced able to serve his parents. He who thus serves his parents, in a high position will be free from pride; in a low situation will be free from insubordination; and among his equals will not be quarrelsome. In a high situation pride leads to ruin; in a low situation insubordination leads to punishment; among equals quarrelsomeness leads to the wielding of weapons. If these three things be not put away, though a son every day contributes beef, mutton, and pork to nourish his parents, he is not filial."

In the early times there were two great ceremonies of ancestral worship, one in spring and one in autumn. On these occasions "they repaired and beautified the temple of their ancestors, set forth the vessels that had belonged to them, displayed their various robes and presented the offerings of the various seasons." Further, in order to vividly recall the memory of the deceased, two days prior to the act of worship had to be devoted by the worshipper to fasting and thinking of the dead man; "how he had smiled and spoken; where he had stood and sat; what had

been his cherished aims, pleasures, and delights." Then, on the third day, when the worshipper repaired to the ancestral temple, he would seem to be once more in the presence of the departed, to hear his voice, and to see his image in the shrine. Already in remote times wooden tablets were set up as temporary resting-places for the spirits. These bore, in addition to the name and office of the departed, one of the three superscriptions, "seat of the spirit," "seat of the soul," or "lodging place of the spirit," and it was believed that during the ceremony of worship the invoked spirit came and occupied the tablet, returning subsequently to its own place. Under the Chou dynasty (1122–255 B. C.), living relatives having the same surname as the dead were substituted for these tablets. They personified the deceased as accurately as possible, and pronounced a benediction on the worshipper and his family. But this practice did not survive the dynasty under which it prevailed. In the same era also originated the custom of making a deceased parent the correlate of Heaven and giving to the spirit-tablet a place on the altar of the Supreme Being. That amounted to an act of unequivocal worship. Dr. Legge, the eminent expounder of Chinese philosophy and religion, expresses the opinion that these great seasonal occasions at the court of China "were what we might call grand family reunions, where the dead and the living met, eating and drinking together;

where the living worshipped the dead and the dead blessed the living." In short, the people, since they might not worship God for themselves, worshipped their ancestors, and thus found a channel for the flow of religious sentiment, ancestors being regarded ultimately as tutelary spirits. There was also the worship of the departed great or good, without any reference to the relationship in which they stood to the worshipper, and beyond all doubt many an illustrious Chinese found comfort and encouragement in the thought that his memory would surely be kept green in the hearts of the people.

During the feudal age of China when the sovereign, the feudal chiefs, and the great dignitaries of State had temples of their own, ancestral worship could be appropriately conducted. But after the fall of feudalism (255 B. C.), facilities for performing such rites became fewer, and the rites themselves suffered some neglect. At all times, too, the mass of the people were without suitable places and paraphernalia for ceremonial purposes, and since, on the other hand, they attached not less value than their superiors to the guardianship of tutelary spirits, it resulted finally that they sought the aid of Taoism as a vehicle of worship, and Taoism grafted on the cult superstitions which greatly changed its character. That phase, however, being of comparatively late consummation, may be more conveniently discussed hereafter.

What has thus far been written shows the conception entertained by old-time Chinese as to the nature of God and of the spirits, ministers of his will. The question now arises, what idea prevailed with regard to man. A very plain answer is furnished in the "Book of Records" by the great Tang, founder of the Chang dynasty (1766-1122 B. C.). Speaking two hundred years before the birth of Moses, this sage ruler said: "The great God has conferred even on the inferior people a moral sense compliance with which would show their nature invariably right. To make them tranquilly pursue the course which it would indicate is the work of the sovereign." There are many evidences of the interpretation put upon this doctrine in later times, and they all indicate a belief that "God made men and endowed them with a good nature intended to lead them invariably right;" but that, at the same time, he endowed them with desires calculated to betray them into error unless some controlling force were at hand. That force was supplied by sovereigns and sages. Mencius and Confucius expounded this doctrine in the most unequivocal terms. Confucius said "man is born for uprightness," and Mencius wrote, "From the feelings proper to it we see that our nature is constituted for the practice of what is good. If men do what is not good, the blame cannot be imputed to their natural powers."

"The practice of what is good" has now to

be considered. What were the duties of man according to the religion of China? Mencius, writing in the third century before Christ and professing to echo the teachings of the sage Shun (B. C. 2207), defined those duties to be affection between father and son; righteousness between ruler and subject; attention to their separate functions between husband and wife; a proper distinction between old and young, and fidelity between friend and friend." In short, man's duty was to be discharged within the range of the five relationships of life: he had no duty to perform towards Heaven.

Existence, according to the ancient doctrine, did not end with death. The "Book of Records," in one or two isolated passages, and the "Book of Odes" in several, show that sovereigns who had ruled well and ministers who had assisted them loyally were supposed to be in heaven, thence watching with interest, which might sometimes become active, the sequel of events in which they had taken part while living. The same belief is clearly indicated by the worship of the souls of the departed as tutelary spirits with whom communion could be held at the services in their honour.

But there was no theory of future punishment. It was not supposed that retribution awaited the wicked beyond the grave. Evidently such a conception would have been incompatible with the worship of ancestors as originally conducted.

"The tyrant-oppressor might have his tablet in the temple, and his spirit might be feasted and prayed to as much as if he had been a great benefactor of the people. One of the finest poems in the 'Book of Odes' is a prayer by King Hsüan of the ninth century before Christ in a time of excessive drought. He prays to his parents for succour, though his father had been notoriously wicked and worthless."

Such was the old faith as to a future state. When Confucius came to be its expounder, he showed reluctance to offer any definite opinions about a hereafter. He believed in the immortality of the soul, but he seems to have had a profound conviction that human intelligence could never acquire trustworthy insight into the realm of the supernatural, and that men busying themselves with such subjects were likely to become superstitious visionaries. His clearest utterance on this matter was: "All the living must die, and dying, return to the ground . . . The bones and flesh moulder away below, and, hidden away, become the earth of the fields. But the spirit issues forth and is displayed on high in a condition of glorious brightness." That is absolutely explicit, so far as it goes. But it does not go far enough to satisfy any curiosity about the character of the eternal existence predicated for the soul: it is silent about the conditions of the future life and about the possibility of communion between the spirits of

the departed and their living worshippers. Asked by one of his disciples whether the dead had knowledge of the service rendered to them by their survivors, Confucius answered: "If I were to say the dead have such knowledge, I am afraid that filial sons and dutiful grandsons would injure their substance in payment of the last offices to the departed; and if I were to say that the dead have not such knowledge, I am afraid that unfilial sons would leave their parents unburied. You need not wish to learn whether the dead have such knowledge or not. There is no present urgency about the point. Hereafter you will know it for yourself."

Chinese philosophers of the Confucian school do not believe, however, that wicked deeds meet with chastisement in the persons of their perpetrators only. When they say "happiness abounds in the family that accumulates virtue, misery in the family that accumulates vice," they understand that if good be not rewarded or evil punished in the experience of the individual, then it certainly will be in the experience of his posterity. But beyond the grave there are rest and comfort for all alike. That is obviously the weak spot in the system: it is the vacuum into which the superstitions of Buddhism and Confucianism subsequently flowed.

It should be emphatically noted that China does not owe her national religion to Confucius. He was only the unrivalled expounder and ex-

pander of a creed handed down from prehistoric times.

Confucius was born in 552 B. C. and died in 478. The place of his nativity was the State of Lu — a part of Shantung — and he served there in more than one high official capacity with conspicuous success. Of the last eighteen years of his life fifteen were spent in wandering from principality to principality, no ruler having sufficient insight or sufficient moral courage to make use of his abilities, which nevertheless had attached to him multitudes of disciples, won for him wide renown, and laid the foundation of such homage from posterity as has never been earned by any other teacher of morals except Christ and Sakyamuni. Much has been written about him. Various interpretations have been given of his teachings. Many appreciations and some criticisms of his philosophy have been penned. But the West has seen him chiefly through Western spectacles, and the image has consequently been defective. His true interpreter can be only one of his countrymen; a man with philosophic acumen to comprehend him and literary competence to render his doctrines into a foreign tongue. Such an interpreter seems to have been found in Mr. Ku Hungming, whose *rêsumé* of the "Analects" enables an Occidental student to hear the great philosopher's voice clearly and to distinguish his utterances across the gulf of twenty-four centuries. The "Analects" con-

tain the sayings and discourses of Confucius and his disciples, set down without any attempt to arrange or collate. Piecing together some of the principal among these fragmentary utterances, the following results are obtained : —

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

It is indeed a pleasure to acquire knowledge, and, as you go on acquiring, to put into practice what you have acquired. A greater pleasure still is when friends of congenial mind come from afar to seek you because of your attainments. But he is truly a wise and good man who feels no discomposure even when he is not noticed of men.

A man who is a good son and a good citizen will seldom be found disposed to quarrel with those in authority over him ; and men who are not disposed to quarrel with those in authority will never be found to disturb the peace and order of the State.

When you have bad habits do not hesitate to change them.

A wise and good man should never seek to indulge his appetite in matters of food ; should not be too solicitous of comfort in lodging ; should be diligent in business and careful in speech ; should seek the company of men of virtue and learning in order to profit by their lessons and example.

It is good to be poor and yet not servile, to be rich and yet not proud ; but better still is it to be poor yet contented, to be rich and yet know how to be courteous.

It is the moral life of a neighbourhood that constitutes its excellence. He is not an intelligent man who, in choosing his residence, does not select a place with a moral surrounding.

If you always look only to your own advantage you will be sure to make many enemies.

Plausible speech, fine manners, and studied correctness are things of which a friend of mine was ashamed. I also am ashamed of such things. To conceal resentment against a person and to make friends with him, that also is something of which my friend was ashamed, and I too am ashamed to do such a thing.

In attaining a moral life it is good to consider how one would see things if one were placed in the position of others and to act accordingly.

Seek for wisdom; hold fast to godliness; live a moral life and enjoy the pleasures derived from the pursuit of the fine arts.

Is moral life something remote or difficult? If a man will only wish to live a moral life —there and then his life becomes moral.

Whatever things are contrary to the ideal of decency and good sense, do not look on them. Whatever things are contrary to the ideal of decency and good sense, do not listen to them. Whatever things are contrary to the ideal of decency and good sense, do not utter them with your mouth.

When going out into the world, behave always as if you were at an audience before the Emperor; in dealing with the people, act as if you were at worship before God.

Whatsoever things you do not wish that others should do unto you, do not do unto them.

A man who can resist long continued attempts of others to insinuate prejudice into him and who cannot be influenced by a sudden appeal to his own personal safety, such a man may be considered a man of perspicacity.

Make it a rule to work for it before you accept anything as your own; that is, perhaps, the best way to

elevate the moral sentiment. Make it a habit to assail your own vices and failings before you assail the vices and failings of others; that is perhaps the best way to discover the secret vices of your inmost mind.

In dealing with yourself be serious; in business be earnest; in intercourse with others be conscientious.

From a man who is not modest in his talk, it is difficult to expect much in the way of action.

Be not concerned that men do not know you; be concerned that you have no ability.

A man who does not anticipate deceit or imagine untrustworthiness, but who can readily detect their presence, must be a very superior man.

A wise and good man seeks seriously to order his conversation aright, for the happiness of others and for the happiness of the world.

The one word which may guide us in practice throughout the whole of life is, perhaps, charity.

In the service of his prince a man should place his duty first, the matter of pay should be with him a secondary consideration.

A man who can carry out five things, whatever else he may be, is a moral man. These five things are, earnestness, consideration for others, trustworthiness, diligence, and generosity.

The love of morality without culture degenerates into fatuity; mere love of knowledge without culture tends to dilettanteism; mere love of honesty without culture produces heartlessness; mere love of uprightness without culture leads to tyranny; mere love of courage without culture produces recklessness; mere love of strength of character without culture produces eccentricity.

I hate the way in which scarlet dims the perception for vermilion. I hate the way in which modern popular airs tend to spoil the taste for good music. I hate

the way in which smartness of speech in men is liable to destroy kingdoms and ruin families.

If it is wrong to ignore the duties arising out of the relations between the members of a family, neither is it right to ignore the duties a man owes to his sovereign and his country. A man who withdraws himself from the world for no reason but to show his personal purity of motive, breaks up one of the basic ties of society.

In mourning the only thing indispensable is heartfelt grief.

FRIENDSHIP AND ITS DUTIES

Have no friends who are not as yourself.

In intercourse with friends do not fail in sincerity and trustworthiness.

A wise man makes friends by his taste for art and literature. He uses his friends to help him to live a moral life.

Be conscientious in what you say to a friend. Lead him on gently to what you would have him be. If you find you cannot do that, stop. Do not quarrel with him.

ADMINISTRATIVE PRINCIPLES

When directing the affairs of a great nation, a man must be serious in attention to business and faithful and punctual in his engagements. He must study economy in the public expenditure and love the welfare of the people.

If in government you depend upon laws and maintain order by enforcing those laws by punishments, you can make the people abstain from wrong-doing, but they will lose the sense of shame in wrong-doing. If, on the other hand, you depend on the moral sentiment and maintain order by encouraging education and good manners, the people will have a sense of shame for wrong-doing and will, moreover, emulate what is good.

Uphold the cause of the just and put down every cause that is unjust, and the people will submit. Treat them with seriousness and they will respect you. Let them see that you honour your parents and your prince and are considerate for the welfare of those under you, and the people will be loyal to you. Advance those who excel in anything and educate the ignorant, and the people will exert themselves.

He who can rule a country by genuine courtesy and innate good manners, will find no difficulty in doing it. But a ruler who has no genuine courtesy and innate good manners, what can mere rules of etiquette and formality avail him?

The common people should be taught what they ought to do, not to inquire why they should do it.

N. B. *This is one of the Confucian sayings that have perplexed Western students. In Japan it is interpreted to mean that obedience to the laws must be required as the first duty; thereafter inquiry as to their propriety may be permitted.*

Statesmen are those who serve their master according to their sense of duty; and who, when they find they cannot serve consistently with their sense of duty, resign.

Without the confidence of the people in their ruler there can be no government. The essentials of government are food for the people, an efficient army, and confidence of the people in their rulers. If any of these things have to be dispensed with, let the army go first and then the food.

Leave the initiative in the details of government to the responsible heads of departments. Overlook trivial defects and advance ability and worth.

Encourage education and good manners and the people will never fail in respect; encourage the love of justice and the people will never fail in obedience;

encourage good faith and the people will never fail in honesty.

Those who have kingdoms should not be concerned that they are poor or have small possessions, but should be concerned that the people are not contented and that possessions are not equally distributed. For with equal distribution there will be no poverty; with mutual goodwill there will be no want; and with contentment among the people there can be no downfall and dissolution.

When there are order and justice in the government of a country, the supreme power will not be in the hands of the nobility or of a ruling class. When there are justice and order in the government of a country, the common people will not meddle with the government.

N. B. *This is interpreted to mean that oligarchies and democratic forms of government are the outcome of a defective monarchy.*

A ruler should never neglect his near relations. He should never give his great ministers cause to complain that their advice is not taken. Without some great reason he should never discard his old connections. He should never expect from a man that he will be able to do everything.

If you should discover enough evidence to convict a man, feel pity and be merciful to him; do not feel glad at your discovery.

In the conduct of government there are five good principles to be kept in mind and respected, and there are four bad principles to be avoided. The good principles are, first, to benefit the people without wasting the resources of the country; namely, to lead the people to undertake such profitable labour as will best benefit them without its being necessary to give them any assistance out of the public revenue; secondly, to

stimulate labour without giving cause for complaint; namely, when employing the people in forced labour on works of public utility, to select those that are best able to bear it, by which means cause of complaint will not be furnished; thirdly, to desire the enjoyments of life without being covetous; namely, by making it your aim to wish for moral well being, when you will never be liable to covetousness; fourthly, to be dignified without being supercilious; namely, as when a wise and good man, whether dealing with a few people or with many, with great matters or with small, is never presumptuous and never regards anything as beneath his notice or as unworthy of serious and careful attention; and fifthly, to inspire awe without being severe, as when a wise and good man watches over every minute detail connected with his daily life, not only of conduct and bearing but even in minor details of dress, so as to produce upon the public mind an effect which otherwise could be produced by fear only. The four bad principles are, first, cruelty, namely, the undue punishment of crimes committed through ignorance arising out of a neglected education; secondly, tyranny of that kind which renders people liable to punishment for offences without first clearly giving public notice; thirdly, heartlessness, which signifies to leave orders in abeyance and uncertainty and suddenly to enforce their performance by punishment; and lastly meanness, namely, treating your subordinates as if bartering with them exactly and meanly.

CHARACTERISTICS OF A GENTLEMAN

A gentleman never competes in anything he does, except perhaps in archery. But even then, when he wins, he courteously makes his bow before he advances to take his place among the winners; and when

he has lost he walks down and drinks his cup of forfeit. Thus even in this case of competition he shows himself to be a gentleman.

A gentleman regards what is right; a vulgar person what will pay.

A gentleman in his education should consider three things as essential. In his manners he aspires to be free from excitement and familiarity. In the choice of his language he aims at freedom from vulgarity and unreasonableness. As to the knowledge of the technical details of the arts and sciences, he leaves that to professional men.

A man who could be depended on when the life of an orphan prince, his master's child, is entrusted to his charge; who will not, in any great emergency of life and death, betray his trust, such a man I would call a gentleman.

An educated gentleman may not be without any strength and resoluteness of character. His responsibility in life is heavy and the way is long. He is responsible to himself for leading a moral life; is not that a heavy responsibility? He must continue in it till he dies; is the way, then, not long?

A gentleman should never permit anything crimson or scarlet in colour to be seen in any part of his dress. (*Many minute injunctions of this nature are given.*)

A gentleman must be a man of strict personal honour. He must be one whom the members of his family hold up as a good son and his fellow-citizens hold up as a good citizen. He must be one who makes it a point to carry out what he says and to persevere in what he undertakes. He must be sympathetic, obliging, and affectionate: sympathetic and obliging to his friends, and affectionate to the members of his family.

He who thinks only of the comforts of life cannot be a true gentleman.

He will never try to save his life at the expense of his moral character. He esteems what is right of the highest importance. A gentleman who has valour but is without a knowledge and love of what is right is likely to commit a crime.

A gentleman in presence of danger should be ready to give up his life; in view of personal advantage he should think of what is right; in worship he should be devout and serious; in mourning he should show heartfelt grief.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE IDEAL MAN

A wise man will not make himself into a mere machine set only to do one kind of work.

A wise and good man is one who acts before he speaks and afterwards speaks according to his actions.

A wise man is impartial, not neutral. A fool is neutral, but not impartial.

If you fix your mind upon a moral life, you will be free from evil.

Riches and honours are objects of men's desire; but if I cannot have them without leaving the path of duty, I would not have them. Poverty and a low position are objects of men's dislike; but if I cannot leave them without leaving the path of duty, I would not leave them.

A wise man never for one single moment in his existence loses sight of a moral life; in moments of haste and hurry, as in moments of danger and peril, he always clings to it.

If a man were really to exert himself for one single day to live a moral life, I do not believe he would find that he had not the strength to do so.

A wise man in his judgment of the world has no predilections or prejudices; he is on the side of what is

right. A wise man regards the moral worth of a man; a fool only his position. A wise man expects justice; a fool expects favours. A wise man never fails to be slow in speech and diligent in deed.

Living upon the poorest fare with cold water for drink and with my bended arm for pillow, I could yet be happy; whereas riches and honours acquired by the sacrifice of what is right would be to me as unreal as a mirage.

A wise and good man makes it a point to be always exact in the words he uses, for if names of things are not properly defined, words will not correspond to facts.

A wise man is dignified, but not proud; a fool is proud, not dignified.

A wise man is ashamed to say much; he prefers rather to act.

A wise and good man makes right the substance of his being. He carries it out with judgment and good sense. He speaks it with modesty. He attains it with sincerity.

Men who when they see what is good and honest try to act up to it, and when they see what is bad and dishonest try to avoid it as if it were scalding water, — such men I have known, and the expression of such principles I have heard.

A wise and good man has his hatreds. He hates those that love to expatiate on the evil doings of others. He hates those who, themselves living low, disreputable lives, try to disparage those that are trying to live a higher life. He hates those that are blusterers without judgment or manners. He hates those that, though pushing and bold, are narrow-minded and selfish.

A wise and good man hates to die without having done anything to distinguish himself.

IMPORTANCE OF TRUTH

Make conscientiousness and sincerity your first principles.

If you make promises within the bounds of what is right, you will be able to keep your word.

I do not know how men get along without good faith. A cart without a yoke and a carriage without harness, how could they go?

My aim in the conduct of life would be to be a comfort to my old folk at home; to be sincere and to be found trustworthy by my friends; and to love and care for my young people at home.

Be conscientious and sincere in what you say; be earnest and serious in what you do; in that way, although you might be in barbarous countries, you will get along well with men.

A wise man should be solicitous about truth, not anxious about poverty.

FILIAL PIETY

When a man's father is living, the son should have regard to what his father would have him do; when the father is dead, to what his father has done. A son who for three years after his father's death does not in his own life change his father's principles, may be said to be a good son.

When his parents are living, a good son should do his duties to them according to the usage prescribed by propriety; when they are dead, he should bury them and honour their memory according to the rites prescribed by propriety.

Think how anxious your parents are when you are sick and you will know your duties towards them.

A son should always keep in mind the age of his

parents as a matter for thankfulness as well as for anxiety.

In serving his parents a son should seldom remonstrate with them. If he is obliged to do so and if he finds that they do not listen, he should yet not fail in respect nor should he disregard their wishes. However much trouble they may give him, he should never complain.

Upright men consider it consistent with true uprightness for a father to be silent regarding the misdeeds of his son and for a son to be silent concerning the misdeeds of his father.

N. B. *This is an answer to a feudal prince who alleged that in his fief men were so upright that when a father stole a sheep the son was ready to bear witness against him.*

ANCESTRAL WORSHIP

By cultivating respect for the dead and carrying the memory back to the distant past, the moral feelings of the people will awaken and grow in depth.

If I cannot give up heart and soul when I am worshipping, I always consider that I have not worshipped.

MAXIMS

One should not be concerned not to be understood of men; one should be concerned not to understand men.

Be not concerned for want of a position; be concerned how to fit yourself for a position. Be not concerned that you are not known, but seek to do something to deserve a reputation.

Men of intelligence are free from doubts, moral men from anxiety, and men of courage from fear.

The moral of all the pieces in the "Book of Songs" may be summed up in one sentence, "Have no vile thoughts."

Study without thinking is labour lost; thinking without study is perilous.

To know what it is that you know and to know what it is that you do not know, that is understanding.

Possession of power without generosity; courtesy without seriousness; mourning without grief — I have no desire to look on such things.

When we meet men of worth, we should think how we may equal them. When we meet worthless men, we should turn to ourselves and find out if we do not resemble them.

Extravagance leads to excess, thrift to meanness; but it is better to be mean than to be guilty of excess.

All things in nature pass away, even as the stream flows.

It is when the cold of winter comes that you know the pine and the cypress to be evergreen.

To go beyond the mark is just as bad as to fall short of it.

If a man takes no thought for the morrow, he will be sorry before to-day is out.

A man who expects much from himself and demands little from others will never have any enemies.

A man who does not constantly say to himself, "What is the right thing to do?" I can do nothing for such a man.

A wise man seeks in himself for what he wants; a fool seeks for it in others.

It is plausible speech which confuses men's ideas of what is moral worth; it is petty impatience which ruins great undertakings.

Among really educated men there is no caste or race distinction.

A good man hates to make excuses when he ought to say simply, "I want it."

It is only men of the highest understanding and men of the grossest dulness that do not change.

Of all people in the world young women and servants are the most difficult to keep in the house. If you are familiar with them they forget their position; but if you keep them at a distance, they are discontented.

A fool always has an excuse ready when he does wrong.

The failings of a great man are eclipses of the sun and moon. When he fails, all men see it; but when he recovers from his failing, all men look up to him as before.

GOD AND RELIGION

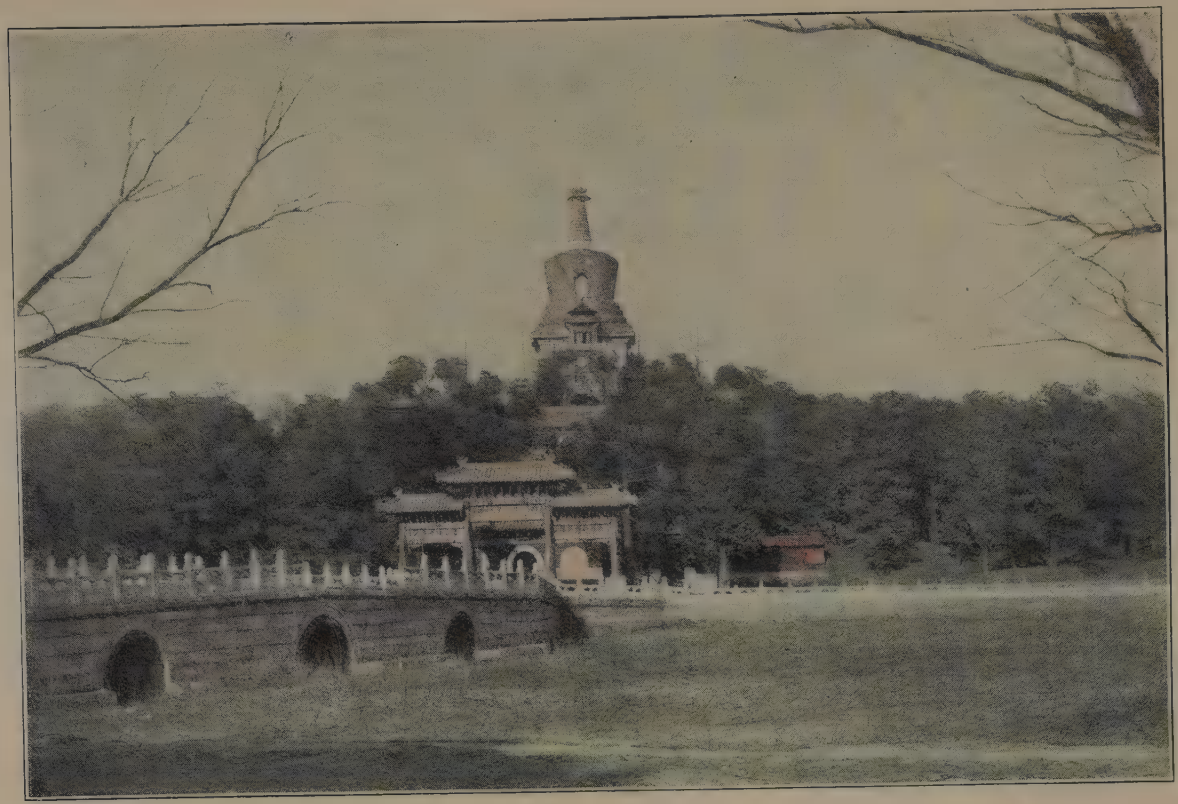
We shall lose him, but God's will be done. (*On the occasion of a friend's illness.*)

If I have had an unworthy motive in doing that, may God forsake me! May God forsake me for ever!

Be not afraid. If God is going to destroy all civilisation in the world, it would not have been given to a mortal of this late generation to understand this civilisation. But if God is not going to destroy all civilisation in the world, what can the people of this place do to me? (*Said to his disciples when he and they were threatened with personal danger.*)

Whether or not I shall succeed in carrying out my teaching among men, depends upon the will of God. What can that man do against the will of God? (*Said with reference to a man who had slandered him.*)

There are three things which a wise and good man holds in awe. He holds in awe the Laws of God, persons in authority, and the words of wisdom of holy men. A fool, on the other hand, does not know that there are Laws of God; he therefore has no reverence



for them; he is disrespectful to persons in authority, and contemns the words of wisdom of holy men.

Without religion a man cannot be good and wise; without knowledge of the arts and of the principles of art a man cannot form his judgment; without knowledge of the use of language a man cannot judge of and know the character of men.

ART AND MUSIC

In the practice of art what is valuable is natural spontaneity. According to the rules of art held by the ancient kings, it was this quality in a work of art which constituted its excellence (*i. e. the subjective element*).

If a man is without moral character, what good can the use of the fine arts do him? If a man is without moral character, what good can the use of music do him?

In painting decoration and colour are matters of secondary importance compared with the groundwork.

It has all the excellence of the physical beauty of harmony, and it has also all the excellence of moral grandeur. (*Speaking of a piece of music.*)

These extracts, though they convey a tolerably accurate idea of the spirit of Confucian ethics and philosophy, necessarily cover only a small part of the ground. They do not show the importance attached by the sage to the nurture and education of children; nor do they show the minute instructions he formulated on that subject; nor do they indicate the detailed rules he compiled as to etiquette and conduct in society. To truth and

sincerity, it will be observed, a very high place is given in the list of virtues; but, on the other hand, a history written by Confucius proves that his canon of truth was sensibly affected by expediency, and that to conceal facts injurious to the reputation of the great and of the renowned did not strike him as insincerity. One of his own maxims, quoted above, shows further that, according to his view, parents and children should hide each other's crimes. That is certainly the Chinese conception of truth, as it is also the Japanese. Neither nation has ever admitted in practice that the obligation to be unreservedly veracious overrides all other moral and social obligations. The Occident in its practice equally rejects any such doctrine, but pretends to adhere to it.

One of the conspicuous creations of Confucian philosophy is the "gentleman," a term of which the Chinese equivalent has been variously translated, — "the superior man," "the princely scholar," and otherwise, — but which is most faithfully rendered "gentleman." Dr. Wells Williams, with true insight but not entirely without a display of the bigotry that often disfigures men of his persuasion, says: "It would be hard to estimate the influence of Confucius in his ideal 'princely scholar,' or the power for good over his race this conception ever since has exerted. It might be compared to the glorious work of the sculptor on the Acropolis of Athena. Like the Athens Promachos to the ancient Attic

voyager, so stands the *Kiun-tsu* of Confucius among the ideal men of pagan moralists. The immeasurable influence in after ages of the character thus portrayed proves how lofty was his own standard, and the national conscience has ever since assented to the justice of the portrait."

It is in the ethics of Confucius that foreign inquirers must seek a true portrayal of Chinese character. Nowhere else is it to be found. Confucius may almost be supposed to have projected his vision into a future twenty-five centuries distant when he said, "I hate the way in which smartness of speech is liable to destroy kingdoms and ruin families." Smartness of speech has been the destroyer of China's good name. One after another Western critics have aired their cleverness at her expense, converting their shallow experiences into profound generalisations, substituting flowers of rhetoric for conscientious observation, and hiding the assumption of knowledge under graces of diction. Yet, if it were known that from time immemorial a certain scripture had constituted the moral food of a community; that every educated unit of the community had been taught to revere that scripture, to commit its tenets to memory, and to regard its ideals as the highest standards of human attainment, would it not be to its pages that a reasoning man would turn for an exposition of the principles informing the community's conduct and moulding the disposition of its mem-

bers? Confucianism, in its original purity, cannot be called the creed of the whole Chinese nation: the illiterate masses are subjected to other influences. But it is the creed of the *literati*, one and all. Not only do they study it with the same reverence that the most devout Christian brings to the reading of his Bible, but also they know that the closer their acquaintance with its canons and with all the literature on which the Sage set the seal of his approval, the better their chance of public distinction and official success. Never has the term "State religion" been more unequivocally applicable to any form of faith than to Confucianism. If the Christian Bible were the chief text-book at all the schools, colleges, and universities of the United States, and if knowledge of its doctrines were regarded as the highest literary attainment, then would every European inquirer into American character search the Old Testament and the New. The Analects and its associated classics are such text-books and such tests of erudition in China, and they have been so since the fifth century before the Christian era. It is in their pages that the portrait of the educated Chinaman may be seen. Should one find it surprising that the original of that portrait does not immediately recognise the superiority of a creed which bids him believe in miracles, which punishes temporal sins with an eternity of torture, and which requires that the crucifixion of the innocent shall expiate the crimes of the guilty?

Christianity has borne fruits by which the nature of the tree is attested for all time, but the mysteries from which its roots spring must be deterrently inscrutable to the disciple of such a creed as Confucianism.

Chapter III

THE PROPAGANDA AND CHINESE RELIGIONS

(*Continued*)

CONTEMPORARY with Confucius during a part of his career, but fifty-two years older, was Laotsu. His name being open to two interpretations, "venerable philosopher" or "aged boy," the latter suggested a fanciful legend that he had been carried in his mother's womb for seventy-two years and was born with white hair. The system of philosophy conceived by him is embodied in a treatise about twice as large as the Sermon on the Mount, called *Tao-teh-king*. If sinologues could agree conclusively about the interpretation of this title, there would be less room for the diverse theories that have prevailed about the philosophy embodied in the volume. But while there is tolerable consensus that *teh* means virtue, there is marked divergence about *tao*, one party calling it "reason" and designating the system founded on it "rationalism;" another claiming that it means "way," in an abstract sense, and that the

philosophy of Laotsu might aptly be termed "Methodism," had not that word already acquired a special significance of its own. It is notable, in connection with this question, that the very same word is used in Japan to designate the national religion, and that not the least uncertainty about its meaning has ever been entertained there. The Japanese *Shin-to* (Chinese, *Shan-tao*), so far as concerns the term itself, perplexes no one: it signifies the "divine way;" that is to say, the path indicated by Heaven for mortals to tread. Following that analogy, the expression *tao-teh* assumes the simple meaning, "path of virtue." Laotsu was not the only Chinese philosopher to whom this *tao* seemed an object of cardinal interest. Mencius — who will be spoken of presently — also considered it profoundly, and in his philosophy the term is obviously equivalent to "moral law," man's true guide, which consists in affection for sublime virtue, in benevolence, in the four social relations, in filial piety, in brotherly kindness, and in self-culture. Japanese students, to whom the writings of Laotsu and other Chinese philosophers have been text-books for the past fifteen centuries, were never in any doubt about the title *tao-teh-king* (*Dōtoku-kyō*, according to their pronunciation of the same ideographs). They understood it to signify "scripture of morality," and in every-day speech the term they use for "morality" is *dōtoku* (*tao-teh*).

Confucius, with his eminent practicality, discussing the "path of virtue," would have begun by defining "virtue," confident that in the details of his definition the route of attainment would be clearly traceable. But Laotsu deemed that to a properly disciplined intelligence the path should unfold itself spontaneously. He sought to find the way before depicting the bourne to be reached. What then was that way? What humanly perceptible attributes could be predicated of it? Gazing at it, he found it imperceptible; listening to it, he found it inaudible; groping for it, he found it intangible. One could not perceive how far it led on entering it, or how far it receded on following it. Yet if a man might discover its direction in the present, then would he be able to trace it back through the past, and thus to know the beginnings of all things, for surely that "Way" must be as old as God himself. Was there then nothing in nature to guide mortals in their search for this path; nothing to teach them how true receptivity of intelligence might be cultivated? Laotsu found an answer to these questions in the phenomenon that all positive existences are mere adjuncts of negative; just as the solid parts of a wheel would be useless without the hollow of the axle; the shell of a vessel without the emptiness inside; the doors, windows, and walls of a room without the vacancy they enclose. Hence he conceived that to be-

come capable of discerning the way, the *tao*, a man must completely segregate his mind from all external influences, must raise himself above the troubled realm of passion and emotion into the calm pure atmosphere of perfect moral repose and self-negation, where the natural goodness of his nature might assert itself, unobstructed by disturbing influences. Then just as seeds germinate in spring without sound; as shrubs grow in summer without requirements; as trees mature in autumn without ostentation, and as all things pass into winter without resistance, so to the sage, without sensible effort on his own part, the "way" would show itself and he would tread it unconsciously, developing the three great attributes of virtue, namely, gentle compassion, which returns good for evil, conquers by kindness, and is strong in Heaven's protection; economy which furnishes means to be liberal; and humility which, like water, benefits all things, and, like water, finds always the lowest level without affecting to seek it. Other and very beautiful results are predicted for those that succeed in reaching the highest and purest developments of this nature, but enough has been said to convey a broad conception of the sage's teaching.

Strong doubts are thrown by some eminent sinologues on the authenticity of the *Tao-teh-king*. They believe that it was pieced together from recorded sayings and conversations of

Laotsu, the compilation being effected in the first or second century of the Christian era; that is to say, during a period when Chinese scholars devoted themselves diligently to filling up lacunæ, real or hypothetical, resulting from the burning of the books by order of the first emperor of united China — the same period when an unparalleled number of spurious works were produced in the Occident, under the signatures of Apostles and Christian teachers. About the genuineness of a few sayings of the philosopher there is consensus of opinion: —

All the world knows that the goodness of doing good is not real goodness.

When merit has been achieved, do not take it to yourself. On the other hand, if you do not take it to yourself, it shall never be taken from you.

By many words wit is exhausted. It is better to preserve a mean.

Keep behind, and you shall be put in front. Keep out, and you shall be kept in.

What the world reverences may not be treated with irreverence.

Good words shall gain you honour in the market-place. Good deeds shall gain you friends among men.

He who is conscious of being strong is content to be weak.

The Empire is a divine trust and may not be ruled. He who rules, ruins. He who holds by force, loses.

Mighty is he who conquers himself.

He who is content, has enough.

To the good I would be good. To the not-good also I would be good, in order to make them good.

If the government is tolerant, the people will be without guide. If the government is meddling, there will be constant infraction of the law.

Recompense injury with kindness.

The wise man's freedom from grievance is because he will not regard grievances as such.

Do nothing and all things will be done.

I do nothing and my people become good of their own accord.

Abandon wisdom and discard knowledge and the people will be benefited an hundred-fold.

The weak overcomes the strong; the soft overcomes the hard. All the world knows this; yet none can act up to it.

The softest things in the world override the hardest. That which has no substance enters where there is no fissure. And so I know that there is advantage in inaction.[1]

These last five quotations embody the doctrine which has chiefly made Laotsu remarkable, — the doctrine of quietude, or inaction. It has been suggested that he formulated the doctrine by way of protest against the hard practicality of Confucian ethics. Confucius inculcated duty to one's neighbour — charity, justice, sincerity, and fortitude — and prescribed rites and observances as ethical aids. His philosophy might, in some respects, be called external. But Laotsu preached inwardness. He taught abstraction from self; sublime indifference; obliviousness of one's own existence; dismissal of all thoughts of charity or duty, of music or ceremonies, of body or mind.

[1] See Appendix, note 3.

Certainly there was plain antagonism between the two systems. Chronologically speaking, however, it would have been more natural that Confucius should set himself to oppose Laotsu than that the latter should rebel against the former's teaching. Probably the two philosophers lived unconsciously in different intellectual atmospheres. The mysticism of Laotsu would indicate a consciousness of failure. It has been well said that "mysticism and scepticism flourish in the same atmosphere though in different soils, both, though in different ways, implying abandonment of the rational problem. The sceptic, the agnostic, of to-day declares it insolvable and settles down content to take things as they are; the mystic retires into himself and dreams of a state of being which is the obverse of the world of fact." That is illustrated in the writings of Chuangtsu, the greatest expounder of the Laotsu philosophy, who flourished in the third and fourth centuries before Christ, and was a contemporary of Mencius. Sensible of the failure of his master's system, Chuangtsu took refuge in the hidden and inward, and solaced himself by directing the weapons of brilliant sarcasm against the practical social life inculcated by Confucius. But to Chuangtsu's remarkable work no space need be devoted here. He was a philosopher without followers. His exposition of the true philosophy of *Tao*, already out of touch with the spirit of the time, was

ultimately banished from sight by the growth of *Taoism*, as it is now known, the teachings of which are indefinitely removed from the *Tao* of Laotsu.

Laotsu's doctrines, as embodied in the *Tao-teh-king*, have suggested curious inferences to European students. Evidences of a belief in a triune god have been read between the lines of the treatise, the three persons of the trinity being the invisible, the inaudible, and the intangible. A still more credulous interpreter discovered the Hebrew word "Jehovah" in the three ideographs *i-hi-wei*, by which the supposed trinity is represented, and a very recent sinologue calls Laotsu's system "mystico-pantheistic," whereas his recognition of the existence of God is affirmed by an eminent authority, who, however, denies that the *Tao-teh-king* contains any inculcations of religion. In fact, neither Confucius nor Laotsu gave a prominent place to supernatural religion in his system, and probably from that omission resulted the subsequent intrusion of Taoism and Buddhism. The emotional side of human nature requires nourishment as well as the intellectual.

Taoism, though its name connects it with the philosophy of Laotsu, is merely an accidental outgrowth of his teachings. It is plain, even from what has been written above — and it could be made plainer by fuller references — that the philosopher's advice to seekers after the

path of virtue might easily be construed as a recommendation to anchoritism. So indeed it was construed. Many persons retired to the mountains and lived a life of seclusion,[1] hoping thus to hear "the voices talk behind the wall and learn their elementary secrets, powers, and forces." Naturally some of them claimed to have succeeded, and thus there began to be talk of the elixir of life, the transmutation of metals, and other miraculous achievements. The founder of the Chin dynasty (255–206), a puissant warrior who overthrew feudalism and consolidated the Chinese Empire, sent an expedition to search for the "isles of the immortals," and worshipped eight spirits previously unknown in the sacrificial canons, the first of them being called *Tien-chu* ("lord of heaven," which, it may be remarked parenthetically, was the name chosen by Papal authority in the eighteenth century to designate the Christian God, and is still the name applied to the Divinity of Roman Catholicism). This same monarch denounced the doctrines of Confucius, proscribed their followers, and encouraged the religion of Taoism, which, in his time, was beginning to assume a definite form. From the philosophy of Laotsu, in which evidences of belief in divine powers are only faintly discernible, to the profoundly superstitious polytheism of the Taoists, there is a wide interval, and the first step towards bridging it was taken

[1] See Appendix, note 4.

when search for the *Tao* of the Laotsu system began to be made by recluses, who, from ascetic struggles to subdue all human passions, passed to the use of amulets, the observance of fasts, search for the philosopher's stone and the pursuit of immortality. Under any circumstances it is possible that the emotional side of Chinese nature would sooner or later have demanded a religion more distinctly supernatural than anything supplied by the system of Confucius. Still the want might not have been so soon supplied, or, at any rate, the establishment of such a religion might not have been officially encouraged, had not Mencius emphasized the democratic tendencies of Confucianism so as to bring it into marked dissonance with the imperialist tendencies of the third century before Christ. In the Confucian system man is the central figure; development of a moral gentleman, the prime aim. It is a practical creed, preaching due observance of all social and political relations and prescribing elaborate canons of forms and rites. Laotsu equally taught how the perfection of human nature was to be attained, but his method was abstraction, self-abnegation, segregation from all factors of passion or emotion. His philosophy dealt with the noumenon; that of Confucius with the phenomenon. Immediately subsequent to both came *Mih Teh*, exponent of Chinese socialism. By him the individual was sacrificed to the community; the greatest good of the greatest number

was placed in the foreground; all art was eschewed as luxury; simplicity, equality, and free love were declared essential. "His followers went further, until the extremist communism was reached, not only of goods but of position and occupations also. Every one, princes not excepted, was to grow his own corn and make his own clothes." It was when the anchorite followers of Laotsu and the communist followers of Mih Teh were beginning to thrust Confucianism into the background that Mencius (Mang-tsu) appeared upon the scene (372–289 B. C.), and placed Confucianism on a pedestal where it has remained ever since, with the whole of educated China worshipping at its feet. "Like Confucius, Mencius was simply a teacher of political economy. To him the State seemed the sum of human endeavours, natural and civilised, working together as an united organisation." In order the better to oppose the socialist and the sensationalist, Mencius "based his political economy on ethics and his ethics upon the doctrine of man's nature. The ethical problem was for him the utmost development of all the good elements of man's nature."[1] In short, he elaborated and amplified the system of Confucius, and in the process of amplification he propounded some doctrines of an essentially democratic nature. He taught that the throne is based upon the people's will; that in the presence of well-founded

[1] See Appendix, note 5.

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popular discontent a sovereign should abdicate; that humane government is the only way to power; that a revolutionary leader may be followed by the people to the mitigation of their hardships; that a bad king may be dethroned by a minister who is of royal blood, and even by a minister who, though lacking that qualification, is a sage.

Thirty-eight years after the death of Mencius the whole of China was brought under the sway of Shih, founder of the short-lived Chin dynasty (255–206 B. C.), who has been called the "Napoleon of the Middle Kingdom." This was the builder of the Great Wall and the burner of the books. History attributes the latter extraordinary act of vandalism to vanity. It asks posterity to believe that, a great general and a great administrator, this monarch conceived the extravagant ambition of being regarded as the first emperor of the Chinese race, and attempted to achieve his ambition by the still more extravagant and obviously futile device of destroying all the written records then extant. That is not credible. The rational explanation seems to be that he sought to destroy all the literature of religions and philosophies not harmonising with his own usurpations and pretensions; that the writings of Confucius and Mencius fell notably under the ban, and that all correlated literature belonged to the category. The same impulse that led him to burn the books, led him also to bury alive the

most prominent followers of Confucius. His subservience to superstition has already been spoken of, — how he sacrificed to eight new deities, and how he sent an expedition to search for the isles of the immortals. This kind of superstition survived the fall of the Chin dynasty (206 B. C.), though the persecution of the Confucianists ceased. The founder of the Han dynasty continued to search for the fabulous region, devoted much of his time to alchemy, placed faith in astrology, and conferred honours on professors of magic. Before his death (185 B. C.) he saw the futility of such practices, but in the mean while the superstitions approved by him and his predecessors had become widely diffused, and the interference of spirits in every-day affairs had gained general credence. It has been suggested, with much probability, that already in the days of Confucius supernatural agencies presented themselves to human imagination in a disturbing light, and that when the sage advised keeping aloof from spirits and avoiding conversation about "extraordinary things," he meant to prescribe, not indifference to religion but avoidance of superstition. There is indeed a passage in the "Book of Records" which shows that, in very ancient times, alleged communications between heaven and earth and pretended "descents of spirits" took such hold upon men's minds as to demand governmental interference. In spite, however, of the countenance extended to professors of magic,

alchemy, and astrology in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era, the Taoism of the age was limited to superstitions: it did not take the form of a religion with temples, liturgies, and rituals of public worship until Buddhism furnished an example. Buddhism came to China in the year 65 A. D. Up to that time there had been no such thing as an idol in the country, nor, indeed, has an image ever been fashioned of the classical god, *Ti*. But the alchemists, astrologers, and wizards of Taoism quickly appreciated the great influence of Buddhism's appeals to the sensuous side of human nature, and soon they too had gorgeous paraphernalia, massive temples, and impressive services. It became almost difficult to distinguish between the externals of the Indian creed and the Chinese. Alike in a Buddhist temple and in a Taoist was seen a trinity of huge images, — the "Three Precious Ones" of Buddhism, namely, Intelligence, the Law, and the Church; and the "Three Pure or Holy Ones of Taoism," namely, the "Perfect Holy One," the "Highest Holy One," and the "Greatest Holy One;" the first of these latter three being Panku, or Chaos, who is supposed to have opened up the heaven and the earth; the second, the "Most High Prince Lao" (Laotsu), and the third, Yu *Hwang Shang-ti*, or the "Gemmous Sovereign God," whom the Taoists identified as the original God of the classics, thus endeavouring to establish a connection between their creed and the ancient

religion of the country, in pursuance of which design they gave to numbers of their deities the title "*Ti*." Both religions have the "Ten Kings of Hell," and there are many other notable resemblances, above all in the sacred literature, for the Taoist scriptures are almost exact copies of the Buddhist Sutras, "in form, in matter, in style, in the incidents of the narratives, in the invocations, and in the prayers." A long catalogue would be required to exhaust the deities of Taoism — the "celestial gods," the "great gods," the "divine rulers," the "Five Holy Ones," the "God of Soothsayers," the "Record God," the "Medicine God," the "Goddess of the Womb and of Midwives," the "Gods of the Body" (twenty-five in all), the "Star Gods," etc. It is, in truth, spirit worship. The original moral teaching of the creed was that blessings and calamities come to man, as he calls them, the recompense or the penalty following a good or an evil act as the shadow follows the figure. All the records of human deeds were supposed to be kept by spirits, four of whom ascended to heaven on certain days and reported their observations, whereupon sentence was pronounced for each transgression, the punishment being abbreviation of life for a period varying from one hundred days to twelve years according to the gravity of the sin. Ten hundred good deeds secured immortality in heaven, and three hundred entitled a man to become immortal upon earth. No room for doubt was left as

to what constituted vice and what virtue. Minute descriptions and definitions were given; more than two hundred sinful traits of character being enumerated. Some of them were mere errors against the superstitions of the faith; for example, singing or dancing upon the last day of the month or of the year; shouting or falling into a passion on the first day of the month or in the morning; sighing, singing, or crying before the furnace where one of the great deities dwells; spitting at a shooting star, or gazing long at the sun or the moon. If life was not long enough to pay the accumulated penalties of a man's sins, the residue of guilt must be expiated by his posterity. As for the immortality which constituted the reward of virtue, it was a product of "three precious things" in the human body — breath, saliva, and the fecundating fluid — which, by their union under certain conditions, formed an invisible fœtus. This grew gradually larger. It could leave and return to its human tenement, and when it attained the dimensions of a man, it joined the ranks either of the undying genii upon earth or of the immortals in heaven. It will be observed that in this system punishment for sins did not extend beyond the life of the sinner. If death overtook him before he had worked out the penalties imposed, he did not suffer in another world: he bequeathed the remainder of his expiation to his children. That doctrine seems to have remained unchanged during the first six centuries

of the creed's existence, and then, borrowing perhaps from Christianity, the Taoists added a tenet that the body alone perishes at death, whereas the soul lives for ever, and that whatever evil men do in their lives, "the same will be done to them in the world to come." Against an irremediable eternity of punishment, however, — that awful belief which overshadows Christianity, — the Taoist conception of justice rebelled. A purgatory was instituted, on the principle that all who led virtuous lives from their youth upwards should be escorted at death to the land of the immortals; all whose balance of good and evil was exact should escape the bitterness of the "Three States"[1] and be born again among men; and all who repaid their debts of gratitude and friendship and fulfilled their duty yet had a balance of evil against them, should pass through the various courts of purgatory and once more return to the world, rich, poor, old, young, diseased, or crippled, to be put a second time upon trial. Then, if they behaved well, they might enter into the happy state; but if badly, they would be dragged by horrid demons through all the courts, and would again be "born to endure in life the uttermost of poverty and wretchedness, in death the everlasting tortures of hell." Moreover, two punishments were to be remitted to any mortal that "vowed to lead a virtuous life, or repenting promised to sin no more; and if, in addition to

[1] See Appendix, note 6.

this, he succeeded in doing five virtuous acts, then he should escape all punishment and be born in a happy state (if a woman, she should be born a man). More than five virtuous acts should enable such a soul to obtain the salvation of others and redeem wife and family from the tortures of hell." As for the purgatory here spoken of, it consisted of ten courts, each destined for particular transgressions and equipped with appropriate means of punishment, — punishment of the most shocking nature, though not more awful, it must be confessed, than the unquenchable fire of the Christian hell.

The nether world, the region of shadow, of which purgatory forms a part, is supposed to be an exact counterpart of the Chinese Empire. There are the same local divisions, the same officials, the same organisation. "Every *yamên*, secretary, runner, executioner, policeman, and constable has a counterpart in the land of darkness. The market towns have also mandarins of lesser rank in charge, besides a host of revenue collectors, the bureau of works and other departments, with several hundred thousand officials who all rank as gods beyond the grave. These deities are civilians. The military have a similar gradation for the armies of hades, whose captains are gods and their battalions devils. The framer of this wonderful scheme for the spirits of the dead, having no higher standard, transferred to the authorities of that world the etiquette, tastes, and

venality of their correlate officials in the Chinese Government, thus making it necessary to use similar means to appease the one which are found necessary to move the other. All the State gods have their assistants, attendants, door-keepers, runners, detectives, and executioners, corresponding in every particular to those of Chinese officials of the same rank." These gods of hades are subject to changes of office, just as their earthly representatives are. The priests of the religion are informed of such changes by the Great Wizard of the "Dragon Mountain," and they make a corresponding alteration in the name of the deity's idol, though the idol itself is not changed. They are also liable to sin, are these Taoist divinities, and some of the chief priests have power to judge them and pass sentence on them when they permit calamities to visit their terrestrial dominions. It is obvious that there is practically no limit to the number of gods. "As the graves on earth fill, so do the palaces of the gods."

The "Great Wizard" spoken of above is the Pope of Taoism, a descendant of Chang Taoling, who flourished in the first century of the Christian era, and ascended to heaven at the age of 123 from the Dragon-Tiger Mountain in Kiangsi, having compounded and swallowed the elixir of immortality. He had acquired power to walk among the stars, to divide mountains and seas, to command the wind and the thunder, and to quell demons. His descendants have continued

ever since to reside on the Dragon-Tiger Mountain. The present holder of the office has a picturesque palace, one part of the grounds being embellished with rows of jars in which demons are sealed up. Among his most profitable functions is the expulsion of evil spirits from the houses of the great and the opulent. All new gods are appointed by the Emperor through him, and on the first day of every month he gives audience to an invisible host of gods and demigods who come to present their compliments.

Taoism has its cosmogony. Panku, the opener of heaven and earth, was the creator designed for vulgar intelligence, while educated men were taught that at creation the dual principle presided, the *yang* and the *yin* of classical philosophy, and that, joined together in the form of a circle, they became the Great Monad, the *ovum mundi*, the union of light and darkness. Thus Taoism had something in common with the classical religion of China. It was indeed an amalgamation of Confucianism and Buddhism with addition of multitudinous superstitions. It stands at the very opposite extreme from the monotheistic faith of ancient China. Chiefly to the fears of its votaries are its appeals addressed, for it represents the living as surrounded by a host of malcontent spirits, seeking to inflict injury, whether by assuming the forms of foxes, snakes, women, or men to entrap the unwary; or by taking demoniacal possession of a victim; or

by haunting houses and afflicting the inmates. The dread of spirits thus becomes the nightmare of the Chinaman's life in the lower orders, and as for the Taoist priest, he finds constant and profitable occupation in writing charms, preparing amulets, casting out devils, and exorcising evil spirits.

An adjunct of this creed is geomancy, the *fung-shui* of which so much has been heard in connection with all attempts to introduce the externals of Western civilisation into China. Like every system that deals in magic, *fung-shui* is hard to understand. The word itself means simply "wind and water," and, practically speaking, the purpose of *fung-shui* is to provide indications for selecting suitable sites to build dwellings for the living or the dead. Chinese observers have often mistaken for a profound knowledge of *fung-shui* the discernment that impels every educated European or American to give to his house a southerly aspect, to protect it on the north by a grove of trees, to have the ground sloping away gently on either side, and to view from his windows the sinuous windings of a brook or the placid bosom of a lake. All such features are in strict accord with *fung-shui;* but whereas in the Occident they are valued for sanitary or scenic reasons, to the Chinaman's emotional conception of human nature they signify freedom from malign influences by which his life would otherwise be tormented. *Fung-shui* has not the respectability of antiquity. Some of

its elements are old enough, as old as the Book of Changes. But in the form of a system it does not date further back than the twelfth century of the Christian era. Its basic principle is that earth is but the reflection of heaven; the latter the ideal type, the former the material image. Hence everything terrestrial has its primordial cause or ruling agency in celestial regions. The firmament is a mysterious text-book in which the laws of nature, the fate and fortunes of every individual, are written in mystic characters, intelligible only to the initiated. The prime agencies of heaven's influence are the sun, the moon, the twelve signs of the zodiac, the "twenty-eight constellations," the "five planets," the "seven stars of the Great Bear," and "nine stars of the Northern Bushel;" while the secondary agencies are the five elements, — wood, fire, earth, metal, and water, — not as merely material substances, but rather, as spiritual essences, constituting the generative causes of all physical objects, and having also productive and destructive relations to each other. The five planets — only five were known to the Chinese — exercise their influence through these essences, which may be traced in the five constituents of the human frame, in the five viscera, the five colours, the five fortunes, and the five social relations. The numerical conception informing the whole system is illustrated by this example, and the sum of the matter may be stated to be that the Chinese read a mathematical

scheme in the distribution and movements of the celestial bodies, as well as in the constantly recurring terrestrial phenomena of changing seasons, growth and decay, life and death. They therefore imagine that if they can trace a given earthly phenomenon to its heavenly source, the influence governing the former may be discovered. To provide an instrument for the purposes of this indication, they take a magnetic needle and place it in the centre of a disc on which are traced sixteen circles, having the axis of the needle for a common centre. On each of these circles is inscribed a series of formulæ, as the twenty-eight constellations through which the moon passes in her course along the ecliptic, the three hundred and sixty degrees of the ecliptic, the sixty relations of the five planets and the five elements, the twelve points of the compass, the twenty-four solar terms, the twelve zodiacal signs, and so on; the result being that when the compass is consulted for any given spot, a great number of conjunctions are indicated with correspondingly mystifying effect upon the uninitiated. The geomancer, using the compass, professes to tell exactly what influences preside at any place. This is a matter of cardinal importance to the superstitious Chinese, especially in determining the sites for graves; inasmuch as they believe that the soul of an ancestor is temporarily bound, by its animal nature, to the tomb where the body lies, while its spiritual nature draws it to the

dwellings of the living. Thus the fortunes of a family are influenced by the situation of an ancestor's tomb, for if this is well placed so as to guarantee the spirit against disturbing elements and secure to it free ingress and egress, it will be disposed to bless and assist the household; if otherwise, to avenge itself by bringing down sickness and calamities. A similar rule applies to sites for residential purposes. Speaking broadly, the geomancer's choice falls upon a spot where the positive and negative currents circulating in the earth unite harmoniously. These currents are allegorically termed the Azure Dragon and the White Tiger. In practice the geomancer looks for ridges or chains of hills bearing a resemblance, however fanciful, to these creatures, and choosing their point of junction, determines further, by the aid of the compass-like instrument already described, whether the celestial and terrestrial elements affecting the spot are in tranquil concord. He has also to observe the direction of the water-courses. These must not run straight away from the selected place, because they would thus carry off the vital breath of nature; they must be winding and tortuous. There is also a pernicious breath, and the places exhaling it are to be avoided. The compass indicates them, but they may be roughly recognised by the presence of abrupt or rugged hills or straight lines, especially when the latter point towards the place or run across its front. It is in this last condition that

the objection to railways, telegraphs, and such things lies; a place of irreproachable *fung-shui* may be destroyed completely by the invasion of a railway embankment. Nature alone need not be relied on in the matter of *fung-shui;* her features may be modified by art so as to lose their evil characteristics and become excellent sites.

In saying, as has been said above, that *fung-shui* dates from the twelfth century of the Christian era, the statement must be understood as referring to the systemisation of the superstition. Some of the conceptions underlying *fung-shui* evidently existed before the time of Confucius, but they did not develop any strength or exercise any wide influence so long as the nation held to its monotheistic faiths, and so long as men's minds were not disturbed by the possibility of malign influence being exercised on the living by the spirits of the dead. Geomancy, as now practised, is essentially an outcome of Taoist astrology and cosmogony with certain engrafting of ancient cosmographic formulæ.

The superstitions connected with the creed have a marked influence on the daily life of the masses, as distinguished from the literati. Every Taoist priest is supposed to possess magical powers, which he exerts sometimes in a malevolent manner, sometimes in a benevolent; and inasmuch as evil spirits are supposed to abound in space, the priest's competence to invoke their aid or control their influence invests him with high

importance in the eyes of the lower orders. Evidences of this demonolatry may be seen in architectural methods, namely, in high walls with windows opening into enclosed courtyards only, so as to prevent the ingress of demons; in zigzag passages which obstruct their progress, and in screen-walls erected before entrances. In short, this world is to the superstitious Chinaman as much a world of spirits as a world of men and women. Dread of unseen but ever-present beings torments him, and is liable to become delirium under the influence of exciting causes; a fact to be always remembered in connection with popular disturbances and other abnormal incidents. Rites grotesque in Occidental eyes, although probably not more curious than some of the ceremonials of the Christian Church seem to the Chinese, are a feature of Taoism. Each person having three souls, one of which remains with the corpse and one with the spirit-tablet, while the third is transported to purgatory, it becomes necessary that special services should be performed in order to free the last from its sufferings. That, after all, is not greatly different from a form of Western faith. But there is much which far surpasses any extravagance of Christian observances. Thus *fung-shui* dictates even the direction in which the coffin should be laid so as to accord with the flow of the earth currents, and also dictates the time of burial so as to be propitious to all surviving members

of the family ; one result of the latter obligation being that a coffin with its ghostly tenant sometimes remains for years awaiting interment. The insanitary effects of such delay are obviated by the structure of the coffin, which is so cleverly joined that not a breath of gas can escape from the seams. It is part of a good son's duties to provide suitable coffins for his parents before their death, storing the coffins meanwhile in the family mansion or in a neighbouring temple. A dying man is generally placed in his coffin, that he may there breathe his last, and not infrequently aged persons make a habit of sleeping in their coffins, the inevitable hour thus finding them familiar with their last tenement. The poor are obviously precluded from yielding to these superstitions. They cannot obey, or even consult, the indications of *fung-shui;* often they are obliged to envelop their dead in matting and boards, and to lay them in the fields without taking any precaution to placate desolate spirits. In most of the important cities, however, there are societies which undertake to bury the corpses of the indigent, partly in obedience to the dictates of charity, partly for sanitary reasons. Similar societies provide repositories where the coffin of a stranger may be laid until the family of the deceased can make arrangements to transport the body to his native place. Nothing could be more realistic and practical than the ceremonies performed at the hour of death. Provision of

light for the soul on its path to the nether world is made by spreading a carpet on the ground, tracing on it with rice the figure of an immortal, building around it a row of rice-heaps, in number some multiple of seven, and placing on each a lamp. Thus the soul having been washed by way of preparation for its journey — a feat achieved by sprinkling a paper effigy of the deceased with a wet willow-branch and afterwards wiping it carefully — is assisted to cross the bridge to the other world by passing the effigy over a paper bridge spanning a chasm between piles of furniture, the priests beating gongs and clashing cymbals the while. Thereafter for the purpose of dissipating enmities that might distress the spirit in its new home, strings of copper money are scattered about by the priests; and finally at frequent intervals during seven weeks there are masses to secure the release of the soul from purgatory, the priests, in number from five to many hundreds, wearing magnificent vestments, chanting incantations, and feasting sumptuously at the expense of the family. There is also tolling of a funeral bell for forty-nine days; burning of incense at a temple by the son and the relatives; rubbing of pillars lest the deities should have stuck the soul of the dead to them; exorcising the breath of death, or the maleficent spirit, which ceremony entails much consumption of food and wine; burning a message on the forty-ninth day to inform the gods

that the ceremonies are over; burning also an official passport given by the Taoist Pope whereby the soul is protected against litigation in the other world; and finally placing the burnt paper's ashes in a yellow bag which is tied to the tail of a carp, the fish being then let loose in a lake in the Temple of the Water of Eternity. All these observances are based on the supposition that the spirit, if it escapes purgatory, passes to a world where it resumes the functions temporarily interrupted by death, and where things are ordered and society organised just as in the present existence. Hence provision must be made for all requirements and contingencies, a principle obeyed so sumptuously that a miniature house is sometimes built, complete in every detail, and fully equipped, not only with furniture but also with garments and bags of money, everything fashioned of reeds and paper, the edifice being then burned together with title-deeds, written by the priests, which secure the property to the deceased in the land of the shades. A corresponding method of giving cheques on the bank of the hereafter is associated with the "Lily Boat," which is made of some frail substance and freighted with strings of silver-paper to represent money. The priests, having announced by means of placards and beating of gongs that the craft is to be despatched, set it on fire and march around it chanting until it is reduced to ashes, whereafter orders on the treas-

ury of hades are handed to each depositor of silver-paper.

Spirits on whose behalf all these elaborate ministrations have been performed, do not trouble the living; on the contrary, their influence is beneficently exercised. But there are necessarily a multitude of mortals who die under unhappy circumstances, and whose souls, becoming errant famished ghosts, seek always to disturb the welfare of society. A decapitated corpse, for example, has to appear in the other world without a head, and cannot obtain rest until this deficiency is supplied. A man attacked by mortal sickness when sojourning among strangers is frequently thrown out to die on the roadside, and naturally his spirit seeks to requite such suffering. Then there are suicides. These are believed to be exceptionally frequent in China; for since the spirits of the dead are able to take vengeance on those that wronged them in life, women and men who believe that they have suffered deep injuries kill themselves in order to haunt and harass their enemies. The ghosts of persons that die violent deaths are also among uneasy spirits. They are permitted to return to the world of mortals if they can find a substitute, and they therefore seek to bring upon others the fate that overtook themselves. Thus the soul of a drowned man remains under water until it can seize some one else and drag him down, so that boatmen are in constant dread of these spirits, and stone pillars

are often erected to tranquillise them. In this superstition is to be found the explanation of a fact placed by many foreign critics to the account of Chinese heartlessness; the fact that an onlooker will make no attempt to rescue a drowning person, since he cannot tell whether by saving a life under such circumstances, he might not deprive a friend or relative of the chance of returning to the world.[1] To appease all these disturbers of human welfare, "high masses" are performed twice a year, when, amid gorgeous decorations, brilliant illuminations, rehearsal of prayers, and playing of music, tables covered with eatables are set forth, so that the "half-starved ghosts, who have no children or friends to care for them, may rush in, shoulder the viands, and carry them off for their year's supply." That is the fashion of the spring festival. At the autumn fête paper clothes and paper ingots are burned in order to supply the spirits with garments and money, and there are the same feasting and music as in the spring.

Thus it is that the ancestral worship which received the sanction of Confucius and Mencius and had been practised since ancient times by the Chinese from motives of affection and reverence, was perverted by Taoism into demonolatry of a degraded and disquieting character, subordinated primarily to the purpose of ennobling a corrupt priesthood to prey upon the fears of ignorant

[1] See Appendix, note 7.

people. It is not to be supposed, however, that ancestral worship lost anything of its vogue because the motive of the rite had undergone a change in the eyes of many of the worshippers. Still at some seventy millions of domestic altars prayers are daily offered and incense burned to the spirits of departed ancestors. That is the religion of all China, high and low, rich and poor, though all do not practise it with similar simplicity of faith. Confucianism holds scholars and aristocrats: its prestige is incomparably superior to that of Taoism or Buddhism. But among the middle and lower classes Taoism and Buddhism have about an equal number of followers. All three religions may be said to enjoy national authorisation. That is eminently true of Confucianism: it is in a sense the established church of China. The Confucian shrines are imperially patronised; Confucian worship is conducted by Government officers at State expense. The officials are all literary men who win office by proficiency in the classical books edited by Confucius. Buddhism also has a right to be called a State creed. It was introduced into China by an emperor; temples have been built for it by emperors, and monasteries are endowed with public money. Taoism, too, may advance a similar claim, for apotheosis is given to its votaries by the Emperor through the Taoist Pope, from whom also dead ministers and generals derive their ranks in the nether world.

Nevertheless the religion whose title to be called that of the State would be universally acknowledged is undoubtedly Confucianism, provided that in the term be included the worship performed by the sovereign in accordance with ancient usages. In a great number of cases the lines of demarcation between the followers of the three creeds are much confused. Many people conform to all three, so far, at any rate, as rites are concerned. Even the literati are not wholly exclusive. "On the one hand, they sometimes seek the protection of the Taoist Goddess of the Pole Star, while on the other they bend the knee before the Buddhist Goddess of Mercy, in supplication for the blessing of a son. In the funeral procession will be found priests of both orders, and in the masses for the dead Buddhist priests are employed on certain fixed days, while Taoist priests are called in to officiate on others. The city temples are generally controlled by Taoist priests, but sometimes Buddhists are in charge. The celibate priests of Buddha by their vows leave their families, discard their progenitors, and have no descendants; but they observe the six feasts of the year and join in the ancestral worship of Confucianism. Taoism, like Buddhism, teaches transmigration; both seek oracular responses; both are vegetarians, and both go to the idols in time of sickness. It seems to make little difference to the people to what temple they go or what god they worship."

Chapter IV

THE PROPAGANDA AND CHINESE RELIGIONS

(*Continued*)

SUCH was China from a moral point of view when Ricci arrived there at the close of the sixteenth century. It became at once necessary that he should determine his attitude towards the religion of the State before commencing a Christian propaganda. Was there anything in that religion that might be preserved as in unison with Christianity, or must the whole be rejected? Ricci, perhaps, had not mastered all the details of the three Chinese religions when he was required to make this decision, but being a man of profound erudition and keen insight, it must be assumed that he did not lack any essential knowledge. In the first place, he saw that the State religion of China recognised the existence of one God, and one only, as the supreme object of human homage; a being ruling and overruling all. It is true that the worship of this deity seemed to be partially vitiated by the worship of spirits, but on closer

scrutiny Ricci found that these spirits were not called "gods," and that they acted merely as agents of the divine will, or as intercessors with God on behalf of his worshippers, — a doctrine easily accepted, nay, even incapable of rejection, by any consistent Roman Catholic. Therefore he recognised the divinity of the Chinese creed as identical with the God of Christianity, and he adopted for the latter the name by which the former was commonly designated, *Tien* (Heaven). The next great question related to ancestral worship. If that must be called idolatry, then, even at the cost of assailing a belief which had become instinctive in the Chinese race, Ricci would have no choice but to denounce it. Now, according to the ancient creed of China explained in a previous chapter, the souls of the dead are not deified. They merely live as happy inmates of heaven, continuing to take an interest in mundane affairs but incapable of exercising any divine power. The masses of the Roman Catholic church for the souls of the departed, the adoration paid to the Saints, may well have occurred to Ricci's mind when this problem had to be solved. He decided that the homage paid by the Chinese to disembodied spirits could not be classed as religious worship: he saw in it merely an expression of filial piety; a civil right in which Christians might participate without doing violence to their conscience. Had he limited himself to these concessions, his sincerity might have been de-

fended. But he carried complaisance a great deal further. Having himself obtained access to China by deliberate deceit, he saw no valid reason why the same weapon should not be employed on behalf of his converts. Therefore he instructed them not to dissociate themselves from the religious observances of the people among whom they lived; to which end he permitted them to bow down before the idols of Buddhism or Taoism, provided that at heart they addressed their devotions to a cross concealed among flowers or secretly attached to some object in the temple. Up to that moment, of the three religions of China two had borrowed from each other or from the third so much that they might be termed a trinity of creeds having a common basis. The signal advantage of Ricci's tolerance was that instead of introducing a faith opposed to all its predecessors, he merely built on the latter's foundation a new system of ethics.

Thus, during thirty years of residence in China, the Italian priest was able to carry on his work of propagandism without molestation. His learning proved a passport to the favour of the literati, who flocked to hear his lectures on scientific subjects, the result being that whereas Christianity, as taught to the Chinese and Japanese in modern times, appeals mainly to the emotions, and consequently finds converts chiefly among the ignorant and the lower orders, Ricci and his coadjutors addressed themselves to the intellect,

and not only gained followers among the learned classes, but came also to be themselves regarded rather as literati of the West than as propagandists of a strange faith. They set themselves, in short, rather to educate China than to proselytise her, and with such diligence did they pursue their design that, fifty-six years after Ricci's landing in China, they had published no less than three hundred and forty treatises in the language of that country, mainly on natural philosophy and mathematics.

Ricci made his way to Peking in 1601. He had then been twenty-one years in China, and not only could he speak the language fluently, but also he knew how to adapt himself to the fashion of the country, and to win his way by courtesies costing little and accomplishing much. In the Chinese capital he received a cordial welcome from the Emperor Wanlieh, one of the last sovereigns of the Ming dynasty, and was granted a residence as well as an annual allowance. Thereafter other Jesuits joined him, and a network of missionary stations was established in the provinces.

Essential to the success of Christian propagandism in China or Japan is that among its native converts there should be found one of conspicuous intellectual gifts or even high social standing, prepared to devote life and fortune to the cause. This assistance, which modern missionaries have never been so fortunate as to

enlist, Ricci found in the person of a prominent Chinese official known in history as Paul Sü, and his widowed daughter who received the baptismal name of Candida. The former's good offices were constantly employed to secure governmental tolerance for the Christians, and concerning the latter the records say that she built thirty-nine churches in the provinces and caused one hundred and thirty Christian books to be printed in Chinese. It is characteristic of the liberality of religious view prevailing in China that Sü and his daughter were deified by the people, and that their spirits are now worshipped at Shanghai by men and women who have no manner of sympathy with the faith they did so much to promote.

During Ricci's life nothing checked the progress of his labours. But shortly after his death in 1610, history began to repeat in China the same drama that had just been acted in Japan. Dominican and Franciscan monks arrived in China, attracted by rumours of the Jesuits' success, and at once sectarian jealousies declared themselves. Seeing an opportunity in the tolerant attitude adopted by Ricci and maintained by his successors towards the State creed of China, the followers of Dominic and Francis vehemently traversed the Jesuits' acceptance of the terms *Tien* and *Shang-ti* as proper designations of God, and denounced their views as to the civil character of the national homage to ancestors.

The Jesuits defended themselves with not less vigour, and for the first time the Chinese observed that principles and ceremonies which they regarded as the bases of social order and national unity were openly assailed by propagandists of a foreign creed, and that the dogmas of the latter were to be used as watchwords by parties within the State.

Just at this time the Japanese had been driven to adopt measures of terrible severity against the lawlessness and intrigues of the Christian propagandists within their realm. Taught by the light of their neighbour's experience, which now seemed likely to be repeated in their own country, the Chinese, in 1617, proscribed Christianity and ordered the missionaries to leave the country. It need scarcely be said that the order was disobeyed. The mediæval missionary saw in such vetoes only a prelude to the glorious crown of martyrdom, and regarded his Master's injunction of due subjection to the powers that be as applicable only to the case of Christian powers.

But the Chinese — and in this respect also the story finds a parallel in Japanese annals — made no drastic attempt to enforce this edict. They underrated the determination of the men with whom they had to deal, and before any incident had occurred suggesting extermination or forcible expulsion, intercession made at Court by the convert Paul Sü caused the rescinding of the veto (1622). Six years later, this same eminent

Chinese convert recommended to the Emperor's favour a German Jesuit named Schaal, whose ability and erudition soon won for him a high place at Court. It has been said of the Roman Catholic missionaries that they owed much of their success to the co-operation of high Chinese families and to the aid of distinguished converts. A similar confusion of cause and effect would be displayed by ascribing a surgeon's fame to the number and quality of his patients without saying anything of the skill that attracted such patronage. Men like Ricci, Schaal, and Verbiest could not fail to attain a measure of success under any circumstances, and much as was due to their converts, to the friars themselves belongs the credit of having won such converts. The respect inspired by Schaal's learning and the consummate tact of his conduct are illustrated by the fact that he enjoyed the patronage of five successive emperors, and that his position at Court was not affected by a change of dynasty, the first of the Manchu sovereigns treating him with no less respect than the last of the Ming had done.

Other missionaries were not gifted with Schaal's political insight. Those in the southern provinces espoused the moribund cause of the Ming dynasty, and a situation was produced in China exactly parallel to that witnessed in Japan a few years previously, when the native converts enrolled themselves under the banners of

Hideyori at Osaka Castle in opposition to the authority of the Yedo Shogunate. Had Hideyori triumphed, Japan might have been Christianised, and had the last Ming sovereign succeeded in ousting the Manchu invaders, China might have accepted the Gospel. For not only were this Emperor's troops led by two native Christians, but also his mother, wife, and son adopted Christianity, receiving the names of Helena, Maria, and Constantine, respectively, and the Empress Dowager Helena addressed to the Pope a letter avowing herself Christian, and expressing a wish to place her country under the protection of the Christian God. A few battalions of Western troops at that juncture might have radically changed the course of history. But steam and electricity had not yet brought China within easy range of European interference. The Pope returned a gracious answer to the imperial lady's appeal, but the sympathy of his holiness did not bear fruit in action, and the curtain fell finally on this brief prospect of official Christianisation on a colossal scale.

Their espousal of the losing side did not entail for the converts and missionaries at the fall of the Ming dynasty consequences as disastrous as those that a similar error had brought upon the Nestorians and Franciscans when the Mongols fell from power. Schaal's political acumen prevented him from following in Peking the mistaken course adopted by the Christians in the

south of the Empire; and thus, after some suffering at the hands of demoralised soldiery and the law-breakers that every period of sword-sway produces, another era of tolerance and favour was secured for Christianity. But it proved of short duration. All this while sectarian disputes had been growing bitterer between the Dominicans and Franciscans, on one side, and the Jesuits on the other, and in the interval news from Japan that the intrigues and schisms engendered by Christian propagandism had been effectually checked by a policy of extermination, the country being thus secured in the enjoyment of unprecedented peace and prosperity. A memorial addressed to the Chinese Goverment, then represented by four regents, set forth these facts, and pointed out that the adherents of the various Christian sects in China wore distinctive badges, and were always ready to yield implicit obedience to chiefs who, at the first favourable moment, might lead them to subvert the existing political order and the Empire's ancient worship. Had this charge been directed against the Dominicans and Franciscans alone, it might have possessed more justice. But though the Jesuits of the seventeenth century could not be acquitted of political designs, they certainly did not show any disposition to overthrow the State religion of China. No discrimination was exercised, however. In 1645 the Pope had issued a decree denouncing as heretical the worship of ancestors as well as that of

the Chinese God *Tien*, and though, in 1656, the decree of another Pope nominally revoked that decision, its designedly vague language lent itself to either interpretation. Thus what the Chinese saw was strife and schism only. For the first time in their history they had to deal with propagandists of a foreign faith who openly denounced the State creed, and forbade to their native converts the practice of a cult which constituted in Chinese eyes the very basis of social organisation. Imprisonment, banishment, and scourging appeared the natural weapons to employ in such a crisis and they were freely employed. In Europe the rack and the stake would have been resorted to.

Generally such experiences elicit fresh displays of resolution from Christian propagandists. But on this occasion the friars showed a conciliatory disposition. Coming together as refugees in Canton, they held a meeting at which it was decided to follow the indications of the Second Papal decree; in other words, to adopt the views originally propounded by Ricci. The language of this decision betrayed the perplexity of the subscribers. It had nothing of the ring of exalted confidence that usually characterises the enunciation of religious doctrine in the Occident. The priests spoke only of the Pope's sanction as being "founded on the most probable opinion, without any evident proof to the contrary," and they pleaded that, "this probability being admitted,

the door of salvation must not be shut against innumerable Chinese, who would abandon our Christian religion were they forbidden to attend to those things that they may lawfully and without injury to their faith attend to, and forced to give up what cannot be abandoned without serious consequences." It was an obvious compromise between conscience and expediency.

Such views never carry conviction to strong minds. Very soon the controversy broke out more fiercely than ever. In the course of the recriminations that ensued some unpleasant truths found utterance, though doubtless not without exaggeration. The Jesuits were accused of living in luxury, obeying the dictates of ambition and neglecting their religious duties for the purpose of taking part in State affairs. The last count is undeniable: Schaal had not hesitated to found cannon for his imperial patron.

While this controversy raged in the south of China, a new era of tolerance dawned for the missionaries in Peking with the assumption of power (1671) by the Emperor Kanghsi, one of the greatest sovereigns that ever ruled China. Schaal had been Kanghsi's tutor. But Schaal being in his seventy-eighth year when (1665) the Regents proscribed Christianity, could not endure that harsh experience: he died soon after being cast into prison. Among his fellow prisoners Verbiest, a man destined to attain to perhaps the highest place ever held by any

foreigner in the esteem of the Chinese Government, was released by the Emperor, who, in consideration of the priest's knowledge of astronomy, conferred a title on him and treated him with much consideration.

It is not to be inferred from this incident that astronomy as an exact science received earnest study in China. The mass of the people still entertained strange notions about the planetary system. They believed the surface of the earth to be plane, its shape a cube measuring about 1,500 miles every way. Around it revolved the sun (at a distance of 4,000 miles), the moon, and the stars, and above it was spread the firmament, at a height variously estimated to be from 27,000 to 73,000 miles. The educated classes were better informed, chiefly owing to the teachings of the Jesuits, but what they knew in earlier time it is difficult to ascertain. The Book of Records, oldest among the Chinese classics, states that the sovereign Yao (2357 B. C.) instructed his astronomers to ascertain the solstices and equinoxes, to fix the four seasons, and to introduce seven intercalary months in nineteen years. Already for three centuries the sexagenary cycle had been in use for reckoning periods of time. This was obtained by combining the five elements (wood, fire, earth, metal, and water) with the twelve signs of the zodiac according to an arbitrary process presenting no interest. Apparently China did not invent this cycle: it seems to have been

borrowed by her from India, as other elements of her astronomy and astrology are said to have been taken from the Chaldeans, though there is no evidence of any ancient communication which would account for such borrowing. At all events the larger part of her astronomical knowledge was empirical, and though, during a period of 3400 years ended in the eighteenth century of the Christian era, 924 solar eclipses and 574 lunar are recorded in her annals, as well as 373 comets during 2,200 years from the seventh century before Christ, her people never discovered the cause of such phenomena, eclipses being attributed by them to the action of a dragon which eat into the face of the luminary, and comets being regarded as miraculous portents. The most important work of their scientists was the compilation of the almanack, because therein the fortunate and unfortunate conjunctions of each day and hour might be discovered by the initiated. Hence the compilation was entrusted solely to the Board of Rites, private enterprise being checked by severe penalties. It was in consequence of his pointing out an erroneous intercalary month in the almanack that Verbiest obtained the Emperor's favour, and by publishing an astronomical treatise in the Chinese language he earned the title of "magnate." Could the friars have abstained thenceforth from sectarian disputes, there is no reason to suppose that their work would have suffered

interruption. The Emperor regarded them primarily as men of science by whose instruction his people could not fail to benefit. In the southeastern part of the city, on a terrace overtopping the encircling wall — which had a height of fifty feet and a width of forty feet at the crest — he caused an observatory to be constructed and placed under Verbiest's charge, equipping it with instruments of fine bronze, the most artistic astronomical adjuncts ever manufactured, and during more than two hundred years they remained one of the wonders of China.

Verbiest's mere declaration of a missionary's scientific attainments sufficed to ensure imperial protection for the latter against oppression at the hands of provincial officials, and from the time of that eminent friar's release from prison in 1671 until his death in 1688 the cause of Christianity flourished in north China as it had never previously flourished. But after the demise of Verbiest the fire of controversy flamed out more fiercely than ever. Maigrot, a bishop and apostolic vicar officiating in China, issued a mandate declaring that *Tien* signified nothing more than the material heavens, and that its worship as well as the worship of ancestors must be considered idolatrous.

Then the Jesuits took a decisive step: they appealed to the Emperor himself. The document embodying this memorable inquiry said: —

We have always supposed that Confucius was honoured in China as a legislator, and that it was in this character alone and with this view solely that the ceremonies established in his honour were practised. We believe that the ancestral rites are only observed in order to exhibit the love felt for them and to hallow the remembrance of the good received from them during this life. We believe that the sacrifices offered to heaven are not tendered to the visible heavens which are seen above us, but to the Supreme Master, Author, and Preserver of heaven and earth and of all they contain.

It may appear that in making such an appeal the Jesuits precipitated a disastrous issue, since they openly challenged the throne of China to pronounce a verdict which it would be thenceforth compelled to enforce. But the Jesuits believed that they had the Inquisition and the Pope on their side, and that, by enlisting the declared co-operation of the Emperor, an array of force would be marshalled sufficiently formidable to deter all further opposition.

At first this calculation seemed likely to be verified. The Chinese sovereign pronounced judgment in the sense that *Tien* signified the true God, and that ancestral worship was purely a political rite. Knowing, however, the nature of the prejudices confronting them, the Jesuits did not rest content with the imperial verdict alone. They obtained sworn confirmation of its contents from a great number of Chinese, and it is alleged that on this occasion also they showed their usual

craftiness by including among the signatories many uneducated persons quite incapable of understanding the question at issue or even of reading the imperial pronouncement. Nevertheless their promising manœuvre failed. The Pope unequivocally condemned the Jesuits' view. Innocent X., in 1645, had declared the Chinese rites to be idolatrous and sinful; Alexander VII., in 1656, had issued a decree lending itself to a diametrically opposite interpretation; and now Clement XI., in 1704, reverted to the view of Innocent. He pronounced *Tien* and *Shang-ti* to be absolutely improper appellations for "God;" he directed that they should be replaced by *Tien-chu*, and he denounced ancestral worship as a heathen rite. It has been shown in these pages that Shih, the founder of the Chin dynasty, the builder of the Great Wall, burner of the books, and sender of expeditions to search for the isles of the immortals, offered sacrifices to eight spirits not previously included in the canons of worship, and that the first of the eight bore the very name, *Tien-chu*, which Pope Clement XI. chose as a proper appellation for the Christian God. In the eyes of well-informed Chinese the Christian worshippers of *Tien-chu* must have ranked with the early followers of Taoism.

Not satisfied with the mere issue of a decree, the Pope sent a legate to China for the purpose of making known his mandate and enforcing its observance. It was a strange situation. The

feelings of the Chinese Emperor when he found himself thus openly defied in his own capital are not difficult to imagine. He ordered the legate to withdraw to Macao, and announcing that missionaries who preached the doctrine of Ricci should be countenanced, while those who adopted the views of Maigrot should be proscribed, he appointed examiners to effect a classification. But the legate, from his retreat in Macao, proclaimed that any missionary holding converse with these examiners should be excommunicated. Then the Bishop of Macao imprisoned the legate, with forty priests, and for a time these two high dignitaries — the legate was now a cardinal — hurled menaces and monitions at one another's heads. The legate appealed to the Governor of Canton for relief against illegal imprisonment, and it seemed for a moment as though the civil authorities might become involved in the squabble. But the Governor stood aloof and the legate died after two years of confinement. Then the Pope sent another legate. His Holiness seems to have entertained extraordinary confidence in the Chinese Emperor's forbearance. Had the positions been reversed; had the Vatican been approached, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, twice in rapid succession, by representatives of an alien creed charged to announce that the Christian God was not the true God, that the rites of the Roman Catholic Church were idolatrous, and that propagandists of these iconoclastic doctrines

should be allowed to settle in Italy and openly preach their blasphemous theories, the answer and the mood of the Holy See can be readily conceived. But Kanghsi received the legate courteously. He limited his display of displeasure to quietly ignoring the questions in dispute. Probably his own authority did not appear to require any violent assertion within his own dominions. Yet when he subsequently attempted to exercise it over the Christian converts among his subjects in the matter of ancestral rites, he found himself defied.

Meanwhile the sectarian dispute waxed keener, with corresponding development of obstinacy among the disputants, and the statesmen in Peking having repeatedly warned Kanghsi that a power beyond his control was growing up in the Empire, he finally (1718) decreed that no missionary might remain in the country without a special permit from the throne, conditional on promising to follow the rules of Ricci. He had been forestalled by the Vatican, however. The Pope had already ordered that no missionary might repair to China without vowing to observe the papal ruling with absolute sincerity. Under such circumstances the student of history expects to hear that Kanghsi resorted to force and used it unsparingly. He did not. He merely withdrew his protection from the missionaries in the provinces and took steps to gradually limit the work of those in Peking. His forbearance and magnanimity constitute the brightest spot in the record.

Kanghsi's successor, Yungching, passed at once to wholesale prohibition. There was no bloodshed, no massacre. Simply every attempt to promulgate the doctrines of the *Tien-chu* religion — as Roman Catholicism was then called and has ever since been called in China and Japan — was interdicted, and all missionaries except those required for scientific purposes were ordered to leave China. They did not obey, of course. Missionaries never do set an example of obedience in such matters. Some of the friars lay hidden in the provinces, their converts secreting them with fine fidelity ; others, retiring temporarily to Canton, whence no steps were taken to expel them, ultimately succeeded in finding their way back to the interior. But they themselves as outlaws, and their converts as adherents of a proscribed creed, suffered no little persecution at the hands of unscrupulous rogues or zealous bigots. As yet, however, little blood was spilled.

After a brief reign of thirteen years Yungching was succeeded by Chienlung. Kanghsi had occupied the throne for sixty-one years ; Chienlung occupied it for sixty. These were, perhaps, the two greatest rulers that ever administered China's affairs. Immediately after his succession Chienlung renewed the edicts of his predecessor. Sectarian quarrels, contumelious pretensions, defiant demeanour and indifference to official vetoes had deprived the missionaries of all sympathy in Peking. The Emperor seems to have been per-

suaded that the longer they remained in the country, the greater the evils connected with their presence, — a conviction which, had he been able to project his mind into the next century, would have acquired imperatively compelling force. Still he did not proceed to extremities, and neither did the missionaries respect his mandates. At last, after eleven years' delay, vigorous inquiry for concealed propagandists was instituted throughout the provinces. In Fuhkien, where the violence of foreign traders had educated a spirit of resentment, this inquisition was stained with the blood of six Dominican martyrs, but elsewhere the friars were merely required to take their departure. It is doubtful whether such leniency would have been extended to similar law-breakers in any other country at that era, especially as some of the offenders were now banished for the second time. Nothing, indeed, is more conspicuous than the forbearance shown by the Chinese authorities throughout all this crisis.

The inquisition here mentioned took place in 1747. Thereafter during thirty-seven years the missionaries remained unmolested, except in rare cases where accident or imprudence brought them to official notice. All that time they continued to carry on their work of propagandism in secret, visiting or residing at their various stations throughout the provinces. Then, in 1784, a new search was ordered in consequence of the

discovery of four priests travelling secretly. Rigorously conducted, it resulted in the apprehension of eighteen friars, six of whom succumbed to the hardships of Chinese criminal procedure and twelve were sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. But the Emperor would not confirm this sentence. He allowed the friars to choose between leaving the country and entering his service. Nine selected the former alternative; three, the latter. For throughout all that era of provincial intolerance, a party of priests lived peacefully in the capital, conducting, under imperial patronage, the scientific labours which successive monarchs had encouraged and rewarded.

That was the last general crusade officially undertaken against foreign propagandists. Not because the latter desisted from their illegal labours. Even of the nine mentioned above as having accepted the Emperor's clemency, some returned subsequently to China. There were isolated instances of arrests and executions in the course of years, but on the whole the work of propagandism, though greatly hampered by the ban of proscription, escaped any completely disabling interruption. That is one of the most remarkable features of the story. Between the entry of Ricci into China in 1582 and the issue of the first edict against the teaching of the Romish faith in 1724, five hundred friars arrived from Europe to carry on the work of propagandism. Thereafter the number diminished, but at

no time were there fewer than forty priests in the country. The presence of these men must have been known to thousands upon thousands of persons outside the circle of their converts. In travelling to and from their stations, in their religious ministrations, in their daily lives however secluded, it is impossible that their identity can have been concealed. Yet, with exceptions so rare as to prove the rule, the people never betrayed them. On the part of their converts fidelity might have been expected. But that the men and women whom they called "heathens" and "pagans" should have refrained from betraying them, indicates a mood very different from the bitter anti-foreign sentiment now attributed to the Chinese nation in general. The fact already deduced from independent records is here strongly confirmed, that outside the narrow areas where the abuses of mediæval trade and the violence of mediæval traders created a special atmosphere of passion, no animosity was harboured against foreigners.

The record furnishes other information. An author whose recent publications about China have deservedly won high esteem, lends the weight of his authority to a popular theory. He says: "To suppose that anything could be added to the wisdom of the sages of antiquity is as arrogant an assumption to the orthodox Confucianist as it would be to a Christian for one to claim that an appendix to the New Testament is

to be looked for which shall be of equal value and authority with its twenty-seven books. The scornful wonder with which the very conception of such supplementary teaching is greeted by the typical Confucianist contains in itself the germ of all the troubles which missionaries experience in China." Yet it was precisely because of their learning and because of the scientific instruction they were able to impart that the Jesuits were admitted to, and retained, a high place in the esteem of the Ming and the Manchu courts. When Ricci paid his third visit to Nanking in 1598, he was received with amity, frankness, and courtesy, and his lectures on the exact sciences were listened to with pleased interest. When the dispute about the character of Chinese religious rites and the nature of the Chinese God was at its height, and when the Pope's legate was threatening to excommunicate any one that accepted the Chinese sovereign's interpretation of China's creed and China's deity, the same legate bespoke and obtained the same sovereign's favour on behalf of three missionaries because they were acquainted with mathematics, music, and painting. And when the friars were proscribed in the provinces in consequence of their attitude towards the State religion, a number of them remained safely in Peking, enjoying imperial patronage for the sake of their erudition. Such facts refuse to be reconciled with the theory that Chinese literati look down upon the

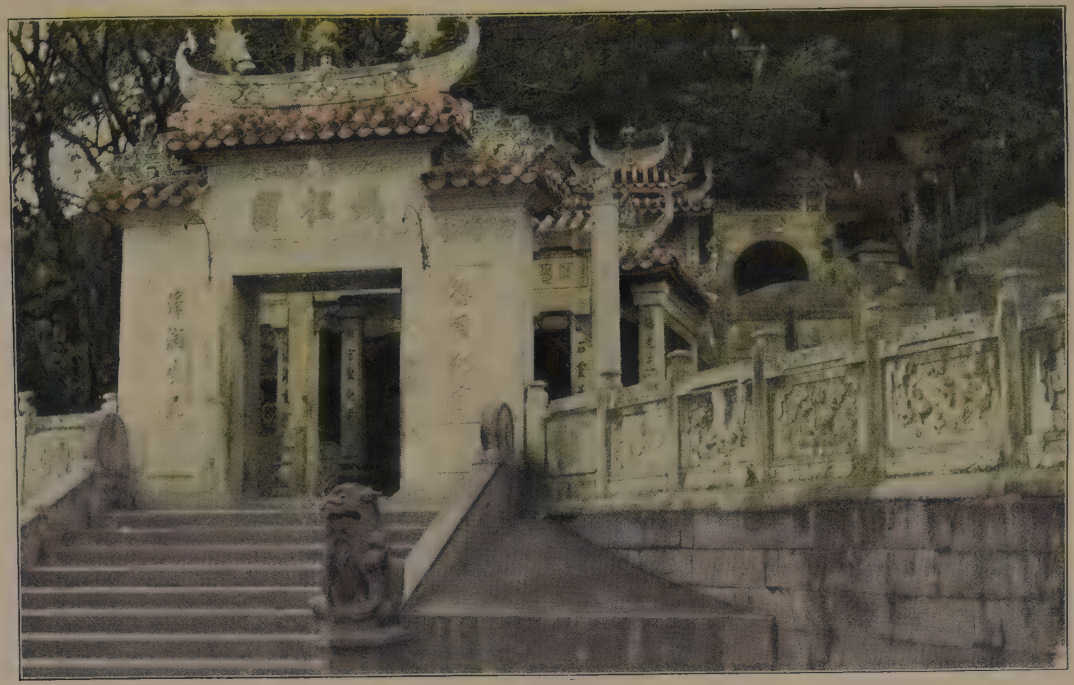
secular learning of the West. And if moral wisdom be in question, if the followers of Confucius are to be accused of insufferable arrogance because they decline to admit that men from foreign lands can impart to them any useful instruction in ethics or religion, what shall be said of the average Christian's disposition? With what sort of mien would he greet on the part of Confucianists an assumption of moral superiority which he claims for himself? The plain teaching of history, than which there can be no better corrector of prejudiced impressions, is that if the Roman Catholic missionaries in preconventional times could have refrained from squabbling among themselves and from openly opposing the religion of the State, they would have secured permanent tolerance for their propagandism and patronage for their learning. But they provoked the enmity of two of China's greatest sovereigns, and thus fell under a ban which must discredit them in the eyes of every Manchu ruler that occupies the Chinese throne. If in Japan the fact that Christianity had been condemned and proscribed by Hideyoshi and Iyeyasu sufficed to convince all later generations of its dangerous and mischievous character, the verdict of Kanghsi and Chienlung could not fail to bring equal opprobrium upon the alien creed in Chinese eyes.

Passing reference has already been made to the resemblances between Roman Catholicism and Buddhism. The celebrated Abbé Huc sums

them up thus: "The cross, the mitre, the dalmatica, the cope which the lamas wear on their journeys or when performing some ceremony outside the temple; the service with double choirs; the psalmody; the exorcisms; the censer suspended from five chains which can be opened or closed at pleasure; the benediction given by extending the right hand over the heads of the faithful; the rosary; ecclesiastical celibacy; spiritual retirement; worship of the saints; fasts; processions; litanies, and holy water." To these have to be added the institution of nuns; worship of relics; masses for the dead; burning of candles and incense and the ringing of bells during worship; belief in purgatory from which the soul can be released by prayer; conducting services in a dead language; claims of miraculous power and the perpetual virginity of Maya the mother of Sakaya-muni as of Mary the mother of the Saviour. There is also another and a very important point of resemblance (noticed by Sir John Davis), namely, that just as sins are expiated by penances or condoned by indulgences in the Romish Church, so the believer in Buddhism can make compensation for his vices by his virtues. There is a definite schedule showing the debt incurred on account of such transgression and the credit obtained by each service. Thus, if a man keeps a conscientious and accurate account, he can always come out on the right side at the end of the year by performing an appropriate number of

charitable or publicly beneficent acts. Some devout Catholics have accused the Devil of contriving these resemblances expressly to discredit the Holy Church, but it is easier to believe that the eclective liberality invariably shown by Buddhism when brought into contact with a rival creed, is answerable for similarities far too numerous to be accidental.

To twentieth-century readers it may seem incredible that miraculous power should have been claimed by Christian propagandists in China up to a comparatively remote date. Yet the fact is attested by the records of the priests themselves. Faber, the scene of whose labours in the first half of the seventeenth century was Shensi, and whose story was compiled by Le Comte, drove away a swarm of locusts by prayer and sprinkling of holy water, the complete success of the miracle depending upon the conversion of those that were relieved by it. He also crossed rivers by ascending into space, precisely after the fashion of Taoist genii, and he accomplished many other supernatural feats. A remarkable display of divine intervention is also recorded as having occurred when Magaillans and his fellow friars were imprisoned in Peking in 1671. Time after time the Four Regents essayed to sign the death-warrants of the prisoners, and time after time a violent earthquake compelled them to desist, until finally, overawed, they abandoned the design altogether. To such men as Schaal and Verbiest



actually miraculous performances are not attributed by the records, but it is related of Verbiest that when he caused three hundred and twenty pieces of artillery to be cast for his imperial patron, the learned priest and renowned astronomer prostrated himself nine times and struck his head nine times on the ground, worshipping the true God in pure Chinese fashion, whereafter he dedicated the guns with prayer, sprinkled them with holy water, and caused the name of a female saint to be inscribed on each, thus endowing them with divinely destructive accuracy. Saint Martin, writing in 1774 from the capital of Szechuan, describes the remarkable success of the friars in casting out devils, followed, of course, by the conversion of those delivered from the affliction, so that in this matter also the Roman Catholic fathers invaded the realm of the Taoist priests as well as that of the Buddhists.

Another point of resemblance was the purchase of children. By that resource the Chinese Buddhists recruited the ranks of their priesthood, and by the same device the Roman Catholic priests obtained inmates for the seminaries whose graduates ultimately became catechists. Here it should be noted that in their dealings with children in China the Roman Catholic missionaries resorted to a manœuvre which, whatever temporary success may have attended it, must ultimately have evoked popular execration. That manœuvre was the surreptitious baptism of mori-

bund children. Verolles gives an accurate account of the practice. "The agents in this work," he writes, "are usually elderly women who have experience in the treatment of infantile diseases. Furnished with innocent pills and a bottle of holy water whose virtues they extol, they introduce themselves into houses where there are sick infants, and discover whether they are in danger of death; in this case they inform the parents and tell them that before administering other remedies they must wash their hands with the purifying waters of their bottle. The parents, not suspecting this pious ruse, readily consent, and by these innocent frauds we procure in our mission the baptism of seven or eight thousand infants every year." It has been calculated that the number thus baptised in all the mission districts cannot fall short of fifty thousand annually, and that sometimes it exceeds a hundred thousand. From the missionary's point of view an everlasting benefit was thus conferred on the little ones: they were saved from perdition and received into paradise. But from the point of view of the parents, in what light must this fraud have presented itself? To the superstitious Chinese with his peculiar beliefs about the peace and happiness of disembodied spirits, it cannot but have seemed that an unspeakably cruel trick had been played at the expense of the child whose loss he mourned; and if, when the discovery was made, as it must inevitably have been

made in innumerable cases, the outraged affection of the parents took the form of fanatical animosity against the friars, who can be surprised?

Considering all these things, it is plain that a Chinaman of ordinary intelligence must have found much difficulty in distinguishing between Christianity as presented to him by Roman Catholic priests and Buddhism as he and his forefathers had known it for sixteen centuries. Probably the resemblances between the two creeds may have constituted some recommendation in the eyes of the ignorant masses, but assuredly the impression produced upon the mind of the literati was unfavourable. For the literati had always despised Buddhism and Taoism. They saw in each nothing but a specious appeal to the emotional side of human nature, and it seemed to them that any moral canons supplied by the doctrines of either Buddhists or Taoists could be obtained in higher, purer form from the philosophy of Confucius and Mencius without the degrading influence of supernatural terrors of the mummery of meaningless rites. The Emperor Yungching (1725–1736), who inaugurated the official crusade against Christianity, composed a remarkable thesis exposing the abuses of Buddhism and Taoism. He denounced as an unnatural crime the sale of children into priestly ranks; he ridiculed the futility of listening to incomprehensible sutras and reciting unintelligible formulæ, instead of seeking earnestly to lead a virtuous life; he condemned

the promiscuous assembling of men and women in temples as likely to lead to immorality; concerning the worshippers at a festival he wrote: "Most of the devotees are women, who like these worshipping days because they thus obtain an opportunity to see and to be seen in their fine clothes, and most of the men who go there go to amuse themselves and to look at the women," and he spoke of the Buddhist priests as lazy individuals who, neither toiling with their hands nor earning a livelihood by trade, subsisted by inventing means for deceiving the people. If it seemed to Yungching that these criticisms applied equally to Christianity as he saw it, he can scarcely be accused of unreasoning prejudice. Those that look with sympathetic eyes see in the lives of many Roman Catholic missionaries splendid examples of zealous self-sacrifice. But it cannot be denied that when engaged as a propagandist in Oriental countries, all did not attain this high standard, and the deficiencies of the backsliders sufficed probably to disfigure the whole record. The Jesuit Ripa, for whom permission to remain in China had been obtained by a prevarication on the part of a Papal legate, wrote thus at the commencement of the eighteenth century: "If our European missionaries in China would conduct themselves with less ostentation, and accommodate their manners to persons of all ranks and conditions, the number of converts would be immensely increased. Their

garments are made of the richest materials; they go nowhere on foot, but always in sedans, on horseback or in boats, and with numerous attendants following them. With a few honourable exceptions, all the missionaries live in this manner; and thus, as they never mix with the people, they make but few converts. The diffusion of our holy religion in these parts has been almost entirely owing to the catechists who are in their service, to other Christians, or to the distribution of Christian books in the Chinese language. Thus there is scarcely a single missionary who can boast of having made a convert by his own preaching, for they merely baptise those who have been converted by others." But if this criticism of Father Ripa be placed on record, similar prominence should be given to an appreciation by Milne, who wrote in the early part of the nineteenth century, and whose testimony is the more valuable as coming from an enemy of Roman Catholicism: "The learning, personal virtues, and ardent zeal of some of them deserve to be imitated by all future missionaries, will be equalled by few, and, perhaps, rarely excelled by any. Their steadfastness and triumph in the midst of persecutions, even to blood and death, in all imaginable forms, . . . afford good reason to believe that they have long since joined the army of martyrs, and are now wearing the crown of those who spared not their lives unto death. . . . It is not to be doubted that many sinners were,

through their labours, turned from sin to holiness." Nor, indeed, can it be supposed that the luxurious mode of life condemned by Ripa continued after the times of proscription and persecution set in, for the allowance granted to a missionary in the interior on account of his own sustenance was only some thirty-five pounds sterling annually, and considerations of personal safety made it necessary for him to retire to some secluded retreat, where he had nothing to anticipate except a period of fifteen or twenty years in virtual imprisonment, severed from intercourse with his own nationals, and condemned to the constant presence of loneliness and apprehension.

In all this work of propagandism no Protestant missionary began to take any part until a late period, — the year 1807. The pioneer was Morrison. Like Ricci, he devoted himself at first solely to the acquisition of the language. But, unlike Ricci, he employed no deception to procure the privilege of residing in the interior. He was content to live at Canton, faring as a Chinese fared and dressing as a Chinese dressed. From the outset the Protestants resolved that their propagandism should proceed along a route opposite to that chosen by the Roman Catholics. The latter had sought primarily to convert men of the upper classes; the Protestants determined to begin at the other end of the social scale. This point should be placed on record, for the fact that nearly the whole of the converts made by

Protestant missionaries in China and Japan belong to the ignorant and vulgar orders is often adduced as an evidence of their failure, whereas it is — or, at any rate, was originally — the result largely of deliberate design. They further decided, without any apparent hesitation, that the Chinese *Tien* must not be an object of worship; but they hoped that since this decision would not be proclaimed by the voice of a hierarch placing himself in open opposition to the Chinese Emperor, no serious prejudice would be provoked. The question of ancestral worship necessarily received their close attention, but they do not seem to have entertained much doubt as to the attitude they ought to take towards it. Perhaps they were unconsciously prejudiced by the tolerance that the Jesuits had displayed; perhaps they thought that acts which might be reconciled with the conscience of an adorer of the Virgin Mary, of Joseph, and of a host of other deified mortals, must be differently regarded by the disciples of a creed which calls such adoration idolatrous. Still the problem deserved careful examination. Ancestral adoration in China has such beautiful aspects that the emotions of an observer are apt to obscure his intelligence. The ceremonies connected with it do not necessarily fall into the category of worship. To repair and sweep a grave; to place before and behind the tomb three pieces of turf in which are inserted red and white tokens that this loving care has

been bestowed; to make libations and to burn incense; to light candles and to deposit trays piled with offerings, — such things might form a part of any *in memoriam* ceremony in a Christian land. It is in the language of the prayers used on these occasions that evidences of worship are found. Sons supplicate the spirits of their ancestors to give them protection and assist them to win prosperity and fame. There is no idolatry, but there is certainly much that savours of worship. On the other hand, the observance brings together all the members of a family from far and near, and thus becomes the occasion for a reunion which cements the ties of relationship and is looked forward to much as members of a Christian family look forward to Christmas or New Year. A foreign creed that commences by denouncing and abolishing this ceremony, dictated by reverence for the memory of those beloved in life and presided over by a spirit of family affection, places an immense difficulty in the path of its own propagandism.

Propagandist efforts, however, can scarcely be attributed to the early Protestant missionaries in China. Morrison lived in comparative seclusion, studying the language, translating the Scriptures, and compiling a dictionary. Corvino in the fourteenth century had translated the New Testament into the Tartar tongue, and the Jesuits in the seventeenth had rendered the same book into Chinese. But it had been no part of his plan or

A RELIGIOUS PROCESSION.

of theirs to put the Bible freely into the hands of converts, whereas the Protestants contemplated circulation of the Scriptures in the widest possible manner. Excellent as the motive of their project, its wisdom may be doubted. No people attach greater importance to graces of diction and correctness of style than the Chinese. Refinements of language invest the most trivial subject with a title to respect in their eyes, whereas a theme of vital consequence is at once excluded from consideration by clumsy presentment. The Christian Bible has never been rendered into Chinese such as would attract educated men. It could not be so rendered without paraphrases intolerable to Christian purists who hold inflexibly to the alpha and omega of the text. Seven years sufficed for Morrison to acquire the Chinese language and to translate the New Testament into it. The impression produced by the work on an educated Chinaman may probably be compared to that which would be produced on an Anglo-Saxon mind by a philosophical treatise written in broken English.

The seven years needed for acquiring Chinese and translating the New Testament brought forth one convert. Nine years more elapsed before a second name was added to the list, and the third came five years later. It is impossible to repress a sentiment of profound pity in turning over the pages of a history that shows Dr. Morrison, after twenty-one years' exile in China, labouring to

"scatter the word of life" with the assistance of three converts, the total result of his toil during nearly a quarter of a century. Corvino had baptised six thousand Chinese in just one half of the time.

But a salient difference between the methods of the Protestants and the Roman Catholics was that the former never attempted to violate the law by penetrating into the interior. Neither Morrison nor Milne, by whom he was subsequently joined, thought of leaving Canton or Macao, and in neither place did they preach openly. Chinese officialdom knew practically nothing of the existence of a foreign mission. They made Morrison's acquaintance when he accompanied Lord Amherst's mission to Peking in the capacity of interpreter. Morrison cannot reasonably be charged with want of foresight in this matter. Yet the history of missions in China might have suggested that by appearing in such a capacity he would excite a suspicion hurtful to his cause, the suspicion of being a political agent in the guise of a religious propagandist. Others were not more tactful. Gutzlaff, a man of eminent learning and piety, incurred the stigma of connection with the opium trade; subsequently accepted the office of linguist in the British Consulate, carrying on his propagandist labours simultaneously; and ultimately refused to sacrifice that lucrative post for the sake of assisting a large missionary enterprise, though his abstention crip-

pled it. This same Gutzlaff accompanied the British expedition up the Yangtse, and with J. R. Morrison, son of Dr. Morrison spoken of above, assisted at the conference between Sir Henry Pottinger and the Chinese commissioners under the walls of Nanking. The Chinese cannot be greatly blamed if they imagined that a political purpose underlay the propagandism of these early Protestant missionaries.

Moreover, if the missionaries judged it unwise to associate law-breaking with propagandism by penetrating into the interior to preach and teach, they were not equally circumspect in other matters. Lord Napier's singularly imprudent manifesto in the sequel of his failure to obtain direct access to the Governor of Canton, led the local authorities to prohibit the publication of all documents in the Chinese language emanating from foreigners. But men like Medhurst and Gutzlaff disregarded that veto. They journeyed along the coast scattering Christian literature broadcast. Gutzlaff, indeed, seems to have conceived that the aim sanctified the instrument, for he travelled in an opium schooner with his tracts and Testaments, distributing the books while his companions sold the drug — a curious kinship of Christian effort and flagrant illegality, which nevertheless does not appear to have shocked American or English philanthropists. "Protestant missionaries," writes Dr. Wells Williams, "did not believe that it was the best means of

recommending their teachings to come before the subjects of the Emperor of China as persistent violators of his laws." Yet that is exactly what Gutzlaff and Medhurst did, — men who would have sacrificed life rather than wittingly violate a recognised precept of Christian codes.

Probably no phase of Christian effort produced a more wholesome effect upon foreigners and Chinese alike than did medical missions, of which the first was established by Dr. Parker at Canton in 1835. There had been previous enterprises of the same kind, but not on a duly organised scale. The illustrious name of Morrison was connected with the earliest. In 1820 he and Dr. Livingstone dispensed medicines at Macao; and seven years later Dr. Colledge, of the East India Company, opened a pharmacy at his own expense, subsequently adding to it a small hospital, where in four years more than 4,000 patients were treated. In this work he received large assistance from the foreign community. It is indeed notable that the charity of the foreign resident in the Far East never flagged, whatever may have been his relations with the country where it was exercised. From first to last he never hesitated to give freely and even profusely for the relief of suffering among either Chinese or Japanese. The whole of missionary enterprise is an eloquent and enduring evidence of European and American benevolence; but the charity displayed by foreign communities, even

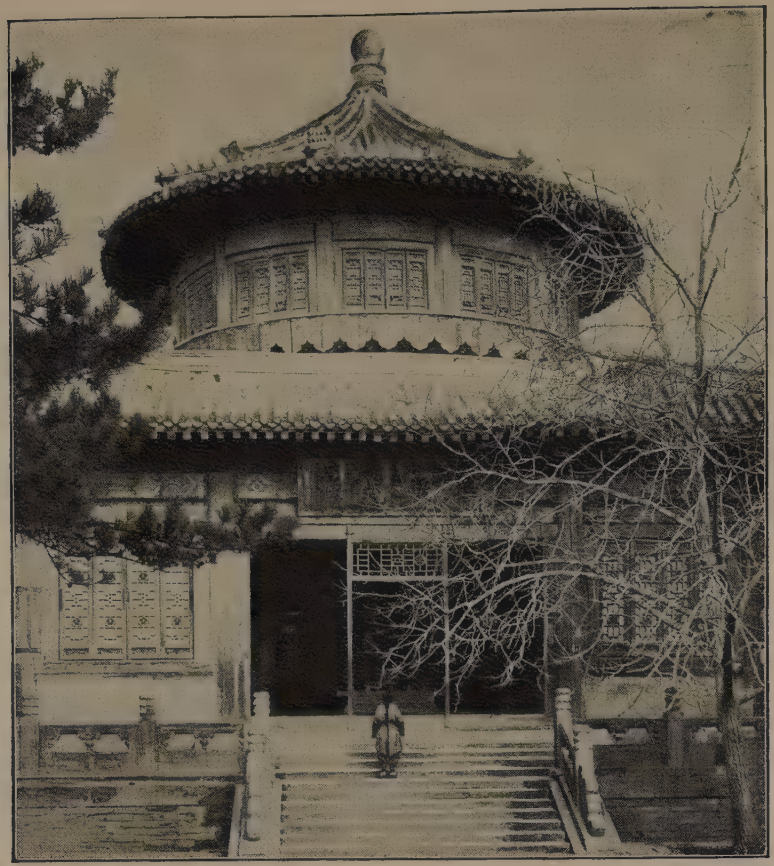
at times when political circumstances might well have choked the spring of kindness, should always be remembered with deep appreciation. In no form could that charity be exercised more usefully than in assisting the sick and the maimed. During forty-five years the Parker hospital at Canton gave relief to 750,000 patients, and that is but a fraction of the work achieved by the Medical Missionary Society at various places in China between 1838 and 1902. Onlookers suggested at the outset that such labour would be like the proverbial casting of pearls: the Chinese, they objected, could not appreciate it. Assuredly it did puzzle the Chinese at first. They facilitated it, but, at the same time, they suspected something more than a purely benevolent motive. That must have been anticipated. But that was not what the critics anticipated. Their misgiving arose from a conviction that truly disinterested charity is to the Chinaman a sealed book; that he does not practise it himself and does not suspect others of practising it. Such a prejudice would be dissipated at once by a little knowledge were it not based on the ineradicable sense of racial superiority that so often distorts Occidental estimates of Oriental character. "Charity is a virtue which thrives poorly in the selfish soil of heathenism," says an eminent Christian historian. Yet to Oriental eyes the essentially deterrent feature of Occidental civilisation is the predominance of self; the shadow of

the great *ego* cast over the whole system. Even though Laotsu and Confucius had not anticipated — the former fully, the latter in part — Christ's perfect definition of charity, there is in the Chinese classics enough to prove what value the "sages" set upon benevolence and kindness, which they placed first among the five traits of highest nobility; and any one familiar with the tenets of Buddhism must know that charity cannot be wanting among its disciples. Turning to actual facts, it appears that alms-giving is largely practised in China — direct alms-giving much more largely than in the West; that there are asylums for the indigent, the aged, and the infirm; that lazarettos exist in many of the large towns; that numerous foundling hospitals are supported by the people; that there are societies organised for the relief of suffering; that benevolent associations undertake the burial of the poor; that soup kitchens are frequently opened in winter; that houses are provided for vagrants and outcasts; that poor widows are assisted by special associations, and that the Government expends large sums every year to lighten distress. Nothing in their own customs or practice incapacitates the Chinese for understanding and appreciating charity. Undoubtedly they estimated at its true value the noble work of the Medical Missionary Society spread over so many years, and learned from it to regard the foreigner in a truer light. The foreigner, too, brought thus into

close contact with the Chinese people, formed a juster conception of their character. "The repeated instances of kind feeling between friends and relatives exhibited among the patients, tender solicitude of parents for the relief of children, and the fortitude shown in bearing the severest operations, or faith in taking unknown medicines from the foreigner's hands, all tended to elevate the character of the Chinese in the opinion of every beholder, as their unfeigned gratitude for restored health increased his esteem."

Reading the story told in a previous chapter of the unhappy relations that constantly existed between foreigners and Chinese at Canton, especially after the withdrawal of the East India Company's charter and the irregular attempt of Great Britain to establish a high official in the Empire without previously consulting the Chinese Government, one is surprised to learn that in the very year following Lord Napier's death the foreign community in Canton subscribed large sums to found two benevolent societies, one for the diffusion of useful knowledge among the Chinese and one for their education. In 1835 such enterprises might well have seemed altogether visionary. Especially improbable might it have been justly thought that Chinese parents would entrust their children to the care of foreign teachers. A "heathen" school established in Chicago or Liverpool for the purpose of teaching "pagan" literature and inculcating Confucian

philosophy would not be likely to receive many American or English students. And indeed the "Morrison school," as the immediate outcome of this fine impulse of benevolence was called, did not at first attract many Chinese. Twenty-one years of Protestant missionary labour had produced only three converts; six years of scholastic effort brought forth only thirty students. At that same time the Roman Catholic missions had eight bishops, fifty-seven priests, one hundred and fourteen native catechists, and over three hundred thousand converts. Nothing could have looked darker than the Protestant prospect. It seemed impossible that with their unbending attitude towards ancestor worship and the state religion of China, their determination not to pass into the interior for preaching purposes so long as the law forbade them to do so, and their uncompromising denunciations of the Chinese creeds, they could ever hope to win any measure of popular favour. For the Protestant missionary has always been conspicuously outspoken in his depreciations of the Chinese and their beliefs. It appears to be his rooted conviction that excellence of character cannot be attained except under the teachings of Christianity; that even intellectual development is not truly possible in presence of the "debased inertness of the heathen mind," and that any good quality observable among the Chinese is far inferior to what it might be were the "shackles of paganism" struck from their limbs. Probably



the earnest faith inspiring such criticisms and prompting such condemnations is an indispensable factor of the zeal that supports these philanthropists and imparts force to their teaching. But to the Chinese gentleman rough forms of speech are certainly not propitiatory. No man is more deterred by them, nor does it seem to him that they come from Occidentals with any show of justice. What he thought of foreigners at the close of the pre-conventional period was clearly set forth in a brochure compiled by way of answer to Protestant propagandism. It was absurd, the writer declared, that persons so miserably deficient themselves should pretend to improve the inhabitants of the Celestial Empire. The foreigner lacked four out of the five cardinal virtues. He lacked benevolence because, for his own benefit, he introduced a poisonous drug among the Chinese. He lacked righteousness, because he sent his fleets and armies to rob others of their possessions. He lacked the sense of propriety because he allowed men and women to mix in society and to walk arm and arm in the streets. He lacked wisdom, because he rejected the teachings of antiquity. The only good quality to which he could lay claim was truth. Claiming to preach to the world, he himself lacked filial piety, since he forgot his parents as soon as they were dead, buried them in deal coffins only an inch thick, and never sacrificed to their manes or burned a scrap of gold paper for

their support in the other world. Lavishing money to circulate books for reforming the age, he himself showed his disrespect for literature by trampling printed paper under foot. Manifestly he was inferior to the Chinese and not fit to instruct them.

That was the verdict of the educated Chinaman in the days when the number of Protestant missionaries might still be counted on the fingers of one hand. It is his verdict still.

Chapter V

CONVENTIONAL PERIOD

THE history of events from the first appearance of the Portuguese at Canton to the outbreak of the Opium War and the conclusion of the treaty of Nanking, does not constitute a credible record for foreign Powers. A different picture might indeed be drawn and has actually been drawn by more than one reputable writer. Thus a recent author describes the origin of the Opium War in these terms :

The Chinese were determined to expel the unwelcome foreigners from the country, while the British exhibited a dogged determination to remain. No suspicion of the real strength of the English appears to have crossed the Celestial mind. The Viceroy had every confidence in himself, and felt that he only had to give the word for the barbarians to be driven into the sea. All he required was a suitable excuse, sufficient to justify any course he might take when his action should be reported to the central Government. The desired justification was supplied by the large export of silver, which had been in progress for more than ten years, during which period silver currency to an enor-

mous amount had left the country in exchange for imports. To prohibit the exportation of silver would be useless, since the people would claim the right of expending their treasure as they pleased; the drain continued, and it occurred to the Viceroy that, if not stayed, it would ere long deplete the national treasury. As it would have been futile to lay an embargo on the silver itself, it was evident that some other means must be sought to achieve the end in view, and as it was believed that the bulk of the bullion exported went in payment for the opium which came into the country from India, the Mandarin determined to stop the importation of the drug. There can be little doubt but that, in deciding upon this course, the Viceroy was fully alive to the moral argument which could be brought to bear upon the prohibition of opium.

The work from which this remarkable account is extracted bears date 1900, and has received the commendation of many of the leading journals of Great Britain. So crass is the British public's ignorance of the truth about China! To describe the origin of the Opium War as a deliberate attempt on the part of the Chinese Government to abolish foreign trade and expel foreign traders, is assuredly one of the strangest perversions of fact that disfigure the pages of history. It is in such a spirit that the story of China's foreign relations is usually written. Annalists see in all the untoward events of the time only an outcome of her "over-weening pride," her "insufferable sense of superiority," and her "unreasoning innate exclusiveness." Assuredly China was proud; assuredly

she had faith in her own superiority ; and assuredly she did not desire close relations with foreigners. As for her pride, however, it would not bear comparison with that of the nations that arraigned her on such a charge ; as for her sense of superiority, the Occident's umbrage on that account merely illustrated humanity's habit of detecting its own failings most readily in the conduct of others ; and as for her "unreasoning innate exclusiveness," the events recorded above show that the epithets "innate" and "unreasoning" are inapplicable. To term her ultimate desire to stand aloof from foreign nations "innate" is to ignore the historical fact that she showed herself originally one of the most liberal of nations, welcoming the stranger within her gates, encouraging his commerce and tolerating his religions. To describe her final exclusiveness as "unreasoning" is to forget that it was educated by bitter experience, and that what foreigners found her to be in the middle of the nineteenth century, that they themselves had made her. China stands now a colossal obstacle in the path of the world's peace. At no previous time in the story of human development has any one country been the arena for such a conflict of international jealousies, international unscrupulousness, and international ambitions. The civilised world seems to have persuaded itself that it has no moral responsibility towards this Oriental Ishmael. It stills whatever murmur of conscience remains

audible by describing its doings in its own terms and depicting them solely from its own standpoint. Yet what is really cardinally important is to know the aspect under which these doings present themselves to China. For with whatever lightheartedness the nations dismiss her rights or ignore her claims, however consummate the stealthy cleverness they bring to bear on the problem of her partition, there remains always one solid indestructible factor, her four hundred millions of people. They are the ultimate tribunal of appeal. What they think, what they choose, that will have to be reckoned with at last. Do not those four hundred millions show to-day a far less placable mood than they showed sixty years ago? And had not their mood sixty years ago lost many of the amicable and tolerant elements that brightened it in the centuries before foreign commerce had developed corsair-like proclivities, and before foreign intercourse had become disfigured by deeds of arbitrary violence and by the clashing of hostile creeds? If, upon calm retrospect, it appears that the maladies which now render China unsightly in Western eyes, and which invite the selfish surgery of European nations, are not constitutional but communicated; that they have been produced by causes for which she is only partly responsible, and that those causes still remain operative, their cumulative effect becoming more and more pronounced, then evidently the historian who

represents her foreign intercourse by the light of foreign egoism only and ignores the Chinese point of view, is acting a pernicious part. What the world wants to know, and what it should consider primarily, is the impression produced upon China herself by her relations with outside nations. It is in obedience to that conviction that these pages are written, not with any purpose of extenuating China's faults or pleading her cause. Up to the outbreak of the first war with England, her flagrant defect was ignorance; ignorance which certainly ought not to have altogether survived her striking experiences. In spite of the many proofs she had received of her own inability to stand up against the might of Occidental nations, even when displayed in desultory attacks upon the Canton forts and upon her fragile war-junks, she still classed Europeans in the same category as the Hiungnu, the Tunguses, the Ouigours, and other Asiatic hordes, with whom it had been her fate from time to time to cross weapons, and whom she had generally succeeded in driving back, sooner or later. She imagined that the turbulent Occidental might be held at arm's length with equal efficiency, though not until she discovered his turbulence did she make the attempt. Of that conspicuous want of discernment she certainly stands convicted, as well as of whatever self-conceit the error implies. And since she blundered so egregiously in her estimate of the whole, it was not to be expected that she

should distinguish between the parts. All Occidentals presented an equally deterrent aspect to her. If the foreign community at Canton included law-breakers and disciples of the doctrine "might makes right," it also included — and these constituted the large majority — many men of the most honourable type, who obeyed the highest canons of mercantile probity in their dealings with the Chinese, who sought no advantage at another's cost, and who, even while they smarted under the insults and restrictions put upon them by the local authorities, were ready at any moment to make generous contributions for improving the moral and physical welfare of the nation that treated them so harshly. These were really the British subjects on whose account Great Britain took up arms. It was intolerable that they should be compelled tamely to undergo a situation such as that existing at Canton in 1839. But, unfortunately for her own reputation, England too was unable to discriminate in practice between the sin of those really responsible for the situation and the grievance of those that suffered by it. The spirit that betrayed Lord Palmerston into advocating the employment of national armaments to support the claims of a fraudulent appraiser of pillow-cases and hand-mirrors, the same spirit forbade England to disavow the deeds of Canton opium-smugglers who were numbered among her subjects. Disavowal was indeed practically impossible, for she could not abandon

these offenders — many of them highly respectable merchants — to the barbarities of Chinese criminal law, and she had herself provided no substitute for that law. There, in truth, is to be sought the crux of the situation. Extraterritorial immunities were claimed for British subjects without any means of discharging extraterritorial responsibilities. The Queen's subjects were not amenable to Chinese jurisdiction, and the Queen did not make provision for any other jurisdiction. Had there been at Canton any British authority competent to restrain and to punish smugglers, smuggling would never have attained uncontrollable dimensions, and England would not have been obliged to champion wrong-doing which had become respectable only by its magnitude. To Chinese eyes, however, all these fine distinctions were not visible. They believed in their own ability to settle matters with a high hand, and they imagined that, with rare exceptions, every foreigner either abetted smuggling or condoned it.

It was hoped, and indeed it might reasonably have been expected, that the war which ended under the walls of Nanking would dispel China's ignorant faith in her own infallibility. At first the course of events seemed to justify that hope. The Chinese high officials, charged with the duty of making arrangements for the operations of the new treaty, were among the men that had witnessed the closing scenes of

the war and learned something of the overwhelming might of England, as compared with any resistance China could offer. They behaved with statesmanlike liberality, so that questions which in other hands must have presented many difficulties, were speedily and satisfactorily settled. The treaty provided for the fixing of a tariff, and no part of the subsequent negotiations attracted such interested attention, for one of the most frequent and vehement complaints of the foreign merchants had been directed against the varying exactions arbitrarily imposed upon commerce under the old system. So irregularly had these charges been levied that when the British Government sought information to guide it in determining the duties, statements of a bewilderingly conflicting character were submitted, and it was finally found necessary to entrust the business entirely to the discretion of two commissioners, one British and one Chinese. The treaty merely called for a "fair and regular tariff," language sufficiently vague to have warranted the Chinese in pressing for such a scale of duties as would have satisfied a Western State, according to the economical doctrines then current. No attempt of that nature was made. The duties were fixed on a general basis of five per cent, all kinds of breadstuffs being exempted from any impost, and a low tonnage duty being substituted for the heavy fee hitherto exacted from vessels entering the river. Of her own accord China ex-

tended the advantages of this tariff to all foreign countries, and her commissioner, in proclaiming the fact, said: "Henceforth the weapons of war shall for ever be laid aside, and joy and profit shall be the perpetual lot of all. Neither slight nor few will be the advantages reaped by the merchants alike of China and of foreign countries. From this time forward, all must free themselves from prejudice and suspicion, pursuing each his proper avocation, and careful always to retain no inimical feelings from the recollection of the hostilities that have before taken place. For such feelings and recollections can have no other effect than to hinder the growth of a good understanding between the two peoples." That this language was sincere there can be no reasonable doubt. But it attracted little notice among foreigners. They were not disposed to credit a Chinese official with sincerity and liberality under any circumstances. Besides, it will not be judging the high commissioner harshly to conclude that some sense of expediency influenced his choice of words. In the Nanking treaty there appeared a clause saying: "It being obviously necessary and desirable that British subjects should have some port whereat they may careen and refit their ships when required, and keep stores for that purpose, His Majesty the Emperor of China cedes to Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain the Island of Hongkong to be possessed in perpetuity by Her Britannic

Majesty, her heirs and successors." Perhaps, when they were required to assent to this Article, the Chinese plenipotentiaries recalled the subterfuge under which Macao had been obtained by Portugal and the deception practised by Ricci in order to procure a residence in the interior of the Empire; perhaps they were merely amused that England should take the trouble to veneer her aggression with such paltry material. But it is pretty certain that they contemplated with some dread the precedent thus offered for general imitation. If it was "obviously necessary and desirable" that British subjects should receive a slice of Chinese territory to careen and refit their ships, why should it not be "obviously necessary and desirable" that the subjects and citizens of other Powers also should have slices for a similar purpose? That disquieting contingency doubtless prompted the Chinese to avert dangerous discussion by extending to all gratuitously the principal of the privileges England had extorted at a heavy cost. Naturally the States of the West showed no coyness in availing themselves of this generosity. Belgium, Holland, Prussia, Spain, Portugal, the United States, and France, hastened to despatch representatives who should secure for their respective countries a due share of the good things thus brought within universal reach. It was all accomplished in the speediest and smoothest manner. Much relieved to find that the "necessity and desirability" of annex-

ing portions of her territory did not exist in the case of all the applicants, China entered upon the business of convention manufacture with courteous alacrity, and Great Britain offered no sort of objection. Could China have foreseen that by this complaisance she was fitting to her throat hands whose clutch would never thereafter be relaxed so long as any breath of imperial life remained in her body; and could England have foretold that the gratitude of those for whom she had prepared this feast would be cold almost before the viands had been tasted, both Powers might have hesitated. But China, thinking, like Agag, that the bitterness of death was past, went delicately to her doom; and England, with the lordly liberality that has always palliated her sins of aggrandisement, bid every nation welcome to an equal share in the fruits of her victories.

One of the interesting episodes of this sudden rush of Powers to reap the harvest of England's sowing, was the United States' method of approaching the Emperor of China. Every historian of China's foreign relations has placed ineffable conceit at the head of her catalogue of sins. But no document known to have emanated from the Chinese Court is permeated with such a fine tone of patronising superiority as the autograph letter written by the President of the United States to the Grand Khan in Peking on the 12th of July, 1843. Mr. Tyler undertook to convey information as well as admonition

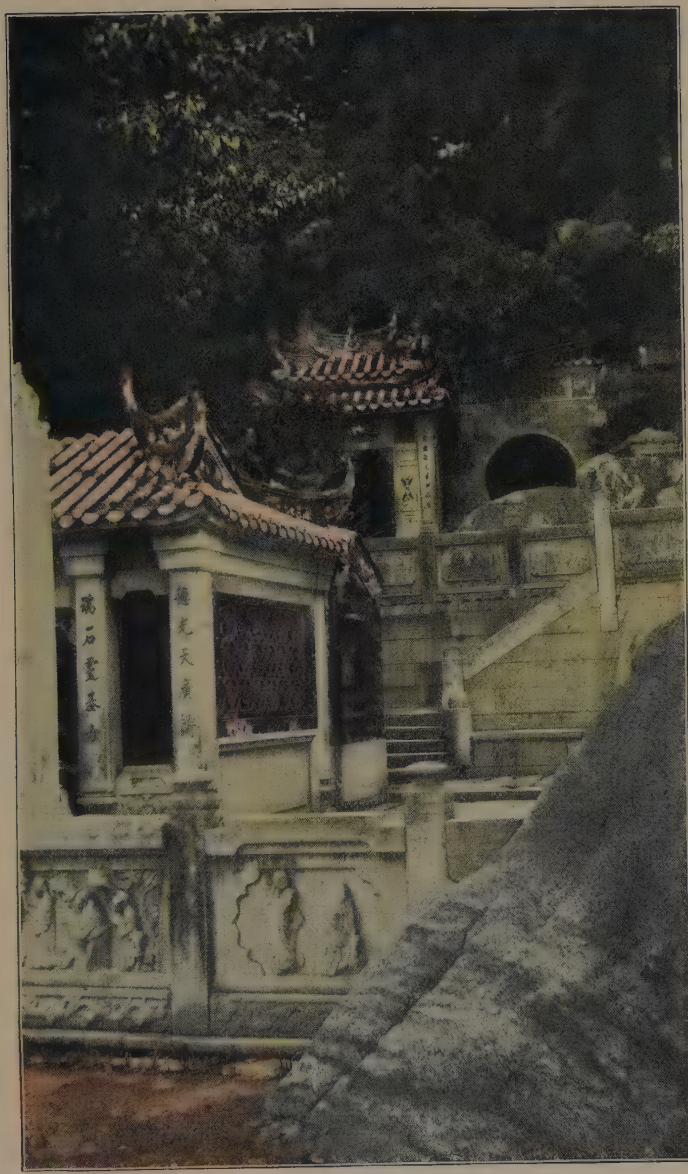
to his "good friend" Taoukwang. He told him that the sea alone divided America and China; that the latter had "millions and millions of subjects," and that American citizens "leaving the mouth of one of their great rivers, and going constantly towards the setting sun, sailed to Japan and to the Yellow Sea"; and he told him also that "the rising sun looked upon the great rivers and great mountains of China," while "the setting sun looked upon rivers and mountains equally large in the United States," which is much the sort of language that Fenimore Cooper would have put into the mouth of "great white chief" addressing a Choctaw or an Apache. Then the President, continuing his courteous confidences, informed his "good friend" that "the Chinese loved to trade with our people, and to sell them tea and silk, for which our people paid silver, and sometimes other articles," — *e. g.*, opium; and then, rising above primers of geography and commerce, Mr. Tyler admonished the Grand Khan: "There shall be rules. Our minister, Caleb Cushing, is authorised to make a treaty. Let it be just. Let there be no unfair advantage on either side. Let the treaty be signed by your own imperial hand. It shall be signed by mine, by the authority of our great council, the Senate. And so, may your health be good, and may peace reign." To the note struck clearly in this diapason of dignified condescension, the note of justice, America's dealings with Eastern countries

have always been attuned. It is true that she practises against the Chinese an illiberal exclusiveness which, if practised by them against American citizens, would be punished at the cannon's mouth ; and it is also true that to China's demands of redress for murderous outrages of which her subjects are the victims, Washington replies by pretexts of domestic administration which were they advanced by Peking would be laughed to scorn. But these are the flaws in the jewel. Chinese and Japanese alike have learned by experience that the United States Government may be implicitly trusted to do in any international complication not merely what is right and just, but also what is generous. It is a fine record, and that it should have for frontispiece the strange letter of President Tyler to Emperor Taoukwang is a striking incongruity.

The negotiators of the new tariff omitted opium from the list of dutiable articles. Great Britain's representative, Sir Henry Pottinger — whose remarkable language on the subject of the drug's importation has already been quoted — sought to have the trade legalised. But the Chinese resolutely repelled his suggestion, and Sir Henry said, in effect: "Very well, gentlemen, you must deal with the matter yourselves. Her Majesty's Government cannot undertake to organise a preventive service in Chinese waters. I am willing to proclaim the traffic illegal and contraband, but as to restraining or punishing

those that engage in it, that is out of the question." This was mere persiflage. Sir Henry cannot have imagined for a moment that after the terrible lesson they had just received, Chinese officials would venture to meddle again with British opium-smugglers. He must have known that in their ears his suggestion sounded like an invitation to apply a lighted match to a powder magazine. Besides, a new responsibility had devolved on England in this matter. Her possession of Hongkong made her one of the guardians of law and order in Chinese waters. Hongkong, as a free port within 150 miles of Canton, would present an admirable basis for opium smugglers unless the British authorities exercised efficient supervision. But Sir Henry Pottinger refused to exercise any supervision. He did indeed issue a veto against the storing of opium on shore at Hongkong, but nothing was done to prevent opium-vessels from entering the harbour and there transshipping their contraband cargo into Chinese boats for surreptitious carriage to the mainland. This is exactly what happened. Hongkong became the basis of supply for Canton, and the trade grew rapidly under these favourable conditions.

Two years after the signature of the treaty, Sir Henry's successor, Sir John Davis, made another effort to obtain the legalisation of the trade. "Such a wise and salutary measure," he explained, "would remove all chances of un-



pleasant occurrences between the two Governments; it might provide an ample revenue for the Emperor, and check to the same extent the consumption of a commodity which is at present absolutely untaxed." The Chinese, however, remained obdurate. The officials to whom Sir John Davis addressed himself knew that whatever they might themselves think or urge, the Court in Peking could not be induced to sanction legalisation, let the resulting revenue be what it might. The only compromise they could discern was that each side should hold its peace and tacitly connive at what the one desired and the other dared not resist. That was called "a truly Chinese device." Might it not with equal justice have been called "a truly British device," seeing that Sir John Davis was a party to it, and that, in commenting on the arrangement, he said: "The trade was practically tolerated, and to us that made a great difference. The position in which Great Britain stood was materially altered. China had distinctly declined a conventional arrangement for the remedy of the evil, and expressed a desire that we should not bring the existing abuse to its notice." Had such words been used by a Chinese official, a hundred critics would have been found to ridicule their glaring insincerity. There, however, the opium question may be said to have passed from the field of urgent issues. It ceased thenceforth to be a potential source of strife between the two

nations. The victory rested with England at the permanent cost of her reputation for justice.

Another trouble now presented itself. The gates of Canton remained closed to British subjects as they had always been. No explicit obligation to unlock them had been imposed upon China by the treaty of Nanking. She had indeed promised to throw open the port and to allow "British subjects with their families and their establishments to reside at Canton for the purpose of carrying on their mercantile pursuits." Such an engagement seemed in some eyes to imply that access to the city should have been given. But it has to be observed that the word "Canton" is a foreign corruption of "Kwangtung," and that "Kwangtung" is the Chinese name of a province as well as of a city. Hence in the Chinese text of the treaty — which alone could carry weight in such a matter — the term employed was not "Kwangtung" alone; a suffix had to be added to distinguish the urban from the provincial designation, and that suffix did not, as it happened, mean the walled city. In fact, there never had been and never could have been any idea of allowing foreigners to dwell within the walled city, and the treaty said not one word about their having access to it for other purposes. The conditions of the treaty were satisfied so soon as British subjects received permission to live in the old Factories, for these, though outside the walls, lay in the urban district

covered by the expression used in the treaty. No British subject wanted to reside within the walls. He could not have done so with either comfort or safety. Neither was it essential for the purposes of his business that he should have ingress. His objection to being excluded was mainly sentimental. Supplementary to this exclusion, however, there was another complication: the Chinese wanted to confine foreigners within the limit of the area assigned to them as a settlement, whereas the foreigners found such confinement intolerable, and desired to be allowed much greater latitude of movement. In this matter also the Chinese were within their conventional rights. The treaty provided that "British merchants residing at the open ports should not go into the country beyond certain short distances to be named by the local authorities in concert with the British Consul, and on no pretence for purposes of traffic." At Canton this "certain short distance" had not been definitely fixed, and the Chinese thought that it had better be fixed so as not to extend beyond the limits of the settlement. It seemed at first sight that such illiberality could not be too strongly resented, not only as opposed to the spirit of the treaty, whatever might be said of the letter, but also as contrary to amicable intercourse. But, as usual, the true explanation did not lie on the surface. There is no warrant for supposing that the Chinese authorities were actuated simply by proud exclusiveness. That was

the motive attributed to them at the time, but subsequent history shows that they were influenced, in part at any rate, by solicitude for the safety of foreigners' persons. Canton and its neighbourhood were in an exceedingly turbulent condition. There were three reasons for this. In the first place, a direct effect of the war had been dangerous weakening of the Manchu Government's prestige; and an indirect effect, the imposition of taxes and the levying of contributions which engendered wide-spread discontent. In the second place, during the repeated conflicts between the British and the Chinese at Canton a large force of troops and volunteers had been assembled there, and these, though nominally disbanded, were still in and about the city, constituting an element of anti-foreign agitation. In the third place — and this is of special importance — Canton's experience of the foreigner and of his ways had been of such a nature that a majority of the inhabitants regarded him with aversion, and their smouldering resentment could always be fanned into flame if occasion offered. The Chinese authorities were sensible of these conditions; not as sensible perhaps as we of a later generation who have the light of history to guide us, but still sufficiently sensible to perceive that if the movements of the foreign resident took him, unprotected, inside the walls of the city and into the neighbouring country, their responsibility for the safety of his person

could not be discharged. They had not the same fear with regard to Amoy, Ningpo, Foochow, or Shanghai. There they allowed foreigners to enjoy a considerable measure of freedom without any untoward sequel. But at Canton the case was different.

It has to be borne in mind when judging these events that probably no organised government in the world is less competent to control its own subjects than the Chinese Government. Local authorities have no force adequate for such a duty. Could the Manchu garrisons of the chief cities be freely employed by the governors and viceroys, the situation might be improved. But the Manchu garrisons are neither very serviceable nor easily available; the provincial troops are a mere rabble, and the police are worthless either individually or collectively. It may be said that the people practically rule themselves, their guilds and organisations discharging functions which a less centralised government could take on its own shoulders. There is, therefore, no difficulty in understanding the Canton administration's reluctance to accept the task of compelling its own subjects to tolerate the presence of strangers whom they had learned to dislike and to dread, especially when the instrument of compulsion would be troops imbued with still more inveterate hate of the foreigner against whom they had just fought. Of course there is the obvious retort that the Chinese Government, when it signed the treaties,

bound itself to eschew every scruple and discard every sentiment that might interfere with their execution. But it did not bind itself to interpret the treaties liberally, where liberality involved serious risks, or to extend its obligations under them to circumstances where it knew its control to be inadequate.

From the very moment of its inclusion in the open ports Canton showed a violent anti-foreign spirit. Inflammatory manifestoes were posted up, — an invariable habit with Chinese agitators, — warning the people that a British settlement was about to be formed in an objectionable place by arbitrary methods, and calling upon all patriots to resist such an aggression. Scarcely had this danger been averted by an adroit manœuvre on the part of the authorities, when some Lascars became involved in a disturbance that ended in the burning of three of the Factories' buildings. Then followed another tumult, originating in the misconduct of a British subject and culminating in a fight between several of the foreign merchants and a Cantonese mob. Then an American citizen, punishing stone-throwing with a revolver, killed a Chinaman, and American mariners had to be employed for quelling the popular indignation. Then two British seamen, penetrating into the walled city, were roughly handled. Then a party of six English gentlemen, assaulted at some distance from the settlement, were rescued by Chinese officials who suffered severely in the

effort. These and other minor incidents, though spread over a period of five years, showed that the perils of residence at Canton were quite as real as the Chinese authorities represented them to be. Of course the authorities themselves were denounced by foreigners, not merely as incompetent, but even as abetting the disturbances. An old resident in the East recently published an attractive volume in which, referring to the Canton troubles, he says: "It has always been and still is the practice of the Chinese authorities to make use of the populace in their aggression on strangers. There is at all times in China, as in most countries, an inexhaustible fund of anti-foreign sentiment ready to be drawn upon by agitators, whether within the Government circle or not, and subject also to spontaneous explosion. By working on these latent passions, and inflaming the popular mind by the dissemination of odious calumnies, Government can at any moment foment an anti-foreign raid. It was an official engine in the use of which Chinese officialdom had become thoroughly expert. It was tempting by its cheapness, and it had, moreover, the special fascination for them that in the event of being called to account for outrage, they could disavow the excesses of poor, ignorant people." Not one instance of recourse to such political chicanery had been proved against the Chinese authorities anywhere up to the time concerning which the above remarks were penned, and Canton itself

had been for some years presided over by an official of whom Sir John Davis wrote: "Kiying was by far the most remarkable person with whom Europeans have ever come in contact in that part of the world; the most celebrated in rank as well as the most estimable in character."

There occurred at this time an incident which illustrated the old Chinese proverb that "great events spring from small causes." The six English gentlemen referred to above as having been mobbed at some distance from Canton and saved by the courageous intervention of Chinese local officials, did not sustain any serious injury. Something worse than stoning might have befallen them but for timely succour; they escaped, however, with a few contusions. No one imagined that the occurrence would have a serious sequel. But a force hidden from the general public was at work. The Governor of Hongkong, within whose province it fell to deal with all such questions, had been suddenly galvanised into a state of bellicose vitality by instructions from Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Since the conclusion of the war the British Government had discountenanced any reversion to the "gunboat policy," seeking to place its relations with China on a basis of conciliation and mutual good-will. But at this juncture Lord Palmerston came into office. Lord Palmerston's political code may be summed up in a famous phrase of his own: "Depend upon it

that the best way of keeping any men civil is to let them see that you are able to repel force by force." It is undeniable that the history of humanity verifies his lordship's dictum. Yet no lower basis of international intercourse could be found. It is the creed that to-day crushes the civilised world under a weight of armaments, and its general application would make elementary passions a tribunal of ultimate arbitrament in all the affairs of life. Lord Palmerston was a great statesman for purposes of European politics where the voice of menace must always be reticent, and where the magnitude of the issues at stake dictates caution to nations as well as to their rulers. But the quality of his statesmanship for Oriental purposes is questionable. He did not recognise, or at any rate did not appreciate, that the mood of every British community in the East is a fighting mood. That is by no means a reproach. The reasons are obvious. Intercourse between the East and the West had its roots in a policy of force, which has bequeathed its traditions to the British communities in the various settlements. Whatever may be said about the composition of these communities — and certainly their general average of intelligence and morality is relatively high — they necessarily recognize themselves to be intruders in the land of their unwelcomed residence, and out of that sense there has grown a conviction that the position won for them in defiance

of the wishes of the people among whom they dwell cannot be retained by consulting those wishes; and that since what they hold was not brought within their reach by conciliation but by coercion, it would be absurd to rely on conciliation for retaining it. Displays of benevolence soon become the last thing that either side expects from the other under these conditions. British ministers and consuls sent to protect the interests of such communities generally take on the colour of their surroundings. A man must have a singularly inflexible individuality if he can live on terms of close friendship with a number of his own nationals in a distant land, admiring their intelligence, applauding their enterprise, and profiting by their experience, without insensibly adopting the views they hold. If a British Foreign Office Secretary, addressing himself to ministers thus circumstanced, applies the spur where he ought to draw the rein, an "incident" is pretty sure to result. That is what happened at Canton in 1847. Two years previously, Lord Stanley, speaking of China, had said: "I believe, so far as our later experiences have gone, that there is no nation which more highly values public faith in others, and up to the present moment I am bound to say that there never was a government or a nation which more strictly and conscientiously adhered to the literal fulfilment of the engagements into which it had entered." In accordance with the spirit animating the cabinet

of which Lord Stanley was a member, Sir John Davis adopted a conciliatory tone towards the Chinese at Canton, and did not attempt to fix upon the local officials any very irksome responsibility for occasional mob-displays of anti-foreign truculence. Thus, in reporting to London the outrage upon two seamen, referred to above, the governor treated it lightly and doubtless expected approving acknowledgment of his moderation. Lord Palmerston, however, instead of commending Sir John's forbearance, instructed him to demand the punishment of the seaman's assailants, and to inform the Chinese authorities "in plain and distinct terms that the British Government will not tolerate that a Chinese mob shall with impunity maltreat British subjects in China whenever they get them into their power; and that if the Chinese authorities will not by the exercise of their own power punish and prevent such outrages, the British Government will be obliged to take the matter into their own hands." Sir John Davis seems to have been electrified by this sudden and complete *volte face* on the part of Her Majesty's Government. It happened that while Lord Palmerston's despatch was travelling towards Hongkong, a Fatshan mob stoned six English gentlemen, as described above, and while Sir John Davis was considering how to dispose amicably and not too leniently of this new complication, Lord Palmerston's trumpet-toned instructions reached him. He

responded at once to the call. Without any superfluous diplomatic preliminaries, such as formulating demands and awaiting rejoinders, he ordered out the troops garrisoning Hongkong, and with this handful of men, not too numerous to be transported by three steamers, General d'Aguilar passed up the Pearl River, bombarded the forts, set a match to the magazines, spiked 827 cannon — almost one per head of the assailants — and held the city of Canton *en prise*.

Sir John Davis reported triumphantly that all this had been accomplished without a single casualty on the British side. It was quite true, and therein lay His Excellency's humiliation, though a kind providence closed his eyes to the fact. For the Chinese statesman Kiying behaved on this occasion with consummate wisdom. He allowed the tumultuous raid from Hongkong to expend itself unresisted. Not a shot was fired by the Chinese soldiers ; not a sword drawn. Kiying instructed them to quietly step aside and suffer the British amock to wreak its fury on inanimate material. Then he conceded all Sir John's demands without demur. It was as though the philosophic old Chinaman compassionated the Berserk fit that had seized his foreign friends, and being fully convinced that time would restore their reason, deliberately sacrificed some of his goods and chattels to their destructive mania. One comment only he permitted himself to make

when the storm had blown over: "If mutual tranquillity is to subsist between Chinese and foreigners, the common feelings of mankind as well as the first principles of Heaven must be considered and conformed with." The moral victory rested completely with Kiying. He had purchased it cheaply at the cost of 827 pieces of artillery.

The British Government did not approve of this singular foray. But it must be confessed that their disapproval was directed against its rashness rather than against its immorality. Such a small force, they objected, might have encouraged the Chinese to resistance. In penning this comment Earl Grey seems to have totally failed to appreciate the significance of Kiying's procedure. But it must be assumed that the Chinese themselves had more perspicacity.

It was a nineteenth-century theory, and it is a twentieth-century axiom, that the Chinese will yield nothing to reason and everything to force. Sir John Davis' raid, therefore, should have produced a wholesome effect upon the Canton mob. When organising the raid, His Excellency had declared that "he would exact and require from the Chinese Government that British subjects should be as free from molestation and insult in China as they would be in England," — a strangely exalted purpose, seeing that whatever liberty of movement the British subject enjoyed in China was limited to five small areas and accorded by a

treaty wrung from China at the point of the bayonet. Within five months of the raid six Englishmen were massacred by a Chinese crowd at a place three miles from the city of Canton. No such terrible occurrence had previously disfigured the record. Happening before the dismantled forts had been re-armed, it looked like an inconvenient contradiction of the force faith. The foreign residents explained such a seemingly false sequel of events by saying that the Davis raid had not been sufficiently thorough. Then, when prompt reparation was made for the murderous assault, they pointed to the fact as a proof of the efficacy of the raid. Prejudice, not reason, evidently suggested their estimates. Still the belief remained that Canton should have been captured, the forts occupied as an object lesson, and a war-vessel stationed permanently in the Pearl River. According to that prescription, China would gradually have been converted into a vast foreign camp, and her coasts into a colossal naval station for the fleets of Europe.

Among the concessions exacted from the Chinese in the sequel of the Davis raid, one provided that after the lapse of two years the gates of Canton should be opened to British subjects. This provision was not ratified in Pekin. In the foreign settlements, however, many voices were raised in condemnation of the delay. Sir John Davis was denounced for withdrawing the troops without forcing open the gates of the city,

and as recently as the year 1900 a distinguished writer declared that "even looking back on the transaction with the advantage of fifty years' experience, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that it was an inversion of judgment to have a city entirely at your mercy and then yield to the city, instead of making the city yield to you." Happily the British Government did not take such a stalwart view. They believed that the end to be achieved was not the mere opening of the gates, but free and peaceful access to the city for all time. To batter down your neighbour's hall door is not a logical prelude to friendly cohabitation. That was the opinion entertained even by Lord Palmerston. "The entrance into Canton," he said, "is a privilege which we have indeed a right to demand, but which we could scarcely enjoy with security and advantage if we were to succeed in enforcing it by arms." When, then, the two years' grace having expired, this perplexing question had to be considered again, and when the people of Canton again showed themselves irreconcilably averse to the admission of foreigners, the British Government agreed to await a favourable opportunity, the judgment of responsible ministers being that no officials could be reasonably required to control the likes and dislikes of a city of 1½ millions of inhabitants.

That was an accurate counterpart of the understanding arrived at some years previously between Sir John Davis and Kiying with regard to the

opium question, and just as the British official had considered the opium arrangement a tacit legalisation of the trade, so the Chinese High Commissioner regarded the *sine-die* postponement of the opening of Canton's gates as a virtual shelving of the troublesome problem. In the case of the opium, Sir John's inference was pronounced by his countrymen to be just and sensible. In the case of Canton's gates, Kiying's inference was declared by the same onlookers to be another instance of Chinese chicanery.

Canton was indeed the storm centre of China's foreign relations. At the other end of the scale stood Shanghai. There the people were described as "naturally a peaceable race," and to their amicable disposition was attributed the prosperity which the place rapidly attained as an emporium of trade.

It is a suggestive fact that among the five ports opened for foreign residence and commerce by the treaty of Nanking, Canton was the place where popular intercourse with foreigners had been largest and Shanghai the place where foreigners were least known. Indeed Shanghai may be said to have been wholly ignorant of foreigners and their ways, whereas Canton's acquaintance with them was of two and a half centuries' standing. It is also a suggestive fact that Canton was the place where the doctrine of armed intercourse had received its fullest application, whereas Shanghai had remained entirely beyond the reach

of such amenities. On three occasions foreign troops had pushed within musket-range of Canton, and as for the bombardment of the forts, it was an event no longer possessing any claim to novelty. Yet now, in the middle of the nineteenth century, Canton totally refused to associate with foreigners, shut its gates in their face, mobbed, stoned, and even massacred them whenever an occasion offered, whereas at Shanghai everything was pleasant and peaceful. Certainly the evidence furnished by these two ports contradicted the theory that the Chinese yield nothing to reason and everything to force. Yet Sir Rutherford Alcock did not detect that contradiction. Writing about Shanghai in 1848, he said: "Our relations with the people and the authorities leave little to be desired. The former care not to encounter the chance of a collision with us, being well satisfied of our national disposition and ability to exact the fair treatment and peaceable conduct which we may justly claim at their hands. More gentle than the population of the coast further south, they are also less disposed to express by overt acts any dislike or arrogance of feeling they may nourish." There really seems to have been a constitutional incapacity on the part of many Europeans to bring to the discussion of Chinese affairs any of the fairness or acumen they often showed themselves capable of exercising in other cases. The Shanghai people could not be said to have enjoyed any opportu-

nity of estimating Great Britain's "national disposition and ability to exact fair treatment and peaceable conduct." They had lived entirely beyond the range of those parades of naval and military strength which, presented again and again during two hundred years at Canton, had failed signally to convince its citizens that England possessed any such disposition or ability. Yet Sir Rutherford Alcock complacently attributed that conviction to the people of Shanghai, and did not even pause to reflect that the absence of violent object lessons may have left unroused, in one case, passions which their repeated presence excited in the other. Nay more, while seeing that the Shanghai people behaved in an uniformly amicable manner, he nevertheless suspected them of "nourishing dislike and arrogance of feeling."

Yet this same Shanghai became the scene of an exhibition of force which is often quoted as a striking example of what can be accomplished in China by courageous "demonstration." One of the chronic troubles of that country is that whenever she temporarily employs a body of men for any public purpose, they become, after disbandment or dismissal, a source of terror to the peaceful population. That is in part because they generally have a just grievance on account of dishonest withholding of pay or allowances, and in part because they are usually drawn from the most debased section of the population. The time-expired soldier in China is little better than

a bandit, and the same is often true of boatmen or coolies who, having learned the efficacy of united strength for a legitimate object, apply the lesson subsequently to lawless enterprises. Early in 1847 several thousands of this class of roughs — discharged junkmen from the province of Fuhkien — were committing such depredations and causing such disorder in a district some miles from Shanghai that the British Consul issued instructions to Her Majesty's subjects to abstain from making excursions in that direction. Three missionaries, disregarding the caution, went to the district for the purpose of distributing tracts, were attacked by the boatmen, badly beaten and robbed, their rescue being finally effected by police-runners and peaceful members of the local population. To the British Consul's demand for immediate redress, the responsible Chinese officials replied that the missionaries had gone beyond the prescribed treaty limits — which was a matter of interpretation rather than of fact, — and that the junkmen who assailed them were not within the reach of justice or the control of law. The consul — Mr. Alcock — saw clearly that if such a plea were admitted it would be equivalent to proclaiming immunity for any band of roughs that chose to assault a foreigner. He therefore took a singularly bold step. First, he notified the Chinese that the payment of customs duties by foreigners would be suspended until the guilty parties were arrested and punished;

secondly, he declared a blockade of the river, which meant that some fourteen hundred junks laden with rice for Peking were unable to prosecute their journey up the Yangtse.

The British force available for this daring *coup* was one small war-vessel. If the Chinese had employed force, they might soon have become masters of the situation. But no such thought seems to have occurred to them. It is noteworthy, however, that these extraordinarily resolute steps did not move them. They still continued to evade their responsibilities, nor did it appear that the consul's demands would have been satisfied had he not sent an official in a sloop of war to lay a complaint direct before the viceroy at Nanking. Then the local authorities yielded at once. Ten persons were apprehended, and several of them having been identified by the missionaries as their assailants, they were all adequately punished. The procedure of the British consul in this case deserved high encomium. He struck boldly on behalf of a principle the neglect of which would have soon rendered the presence of foreigners in China impossible. Yet he achieved success not by a display of force but by an appeal to the viceroy. Up to the moment when that appeal was made the local officials showed no sign of yielding. It should also be noticed that when Her Britannic Majesty's ship *Espiegle*, leaving Shanghai, where these high-handed measures were in progress, steamed up

the Yangtse to the viceregal city, she met with marked civility from the officials *en route*, and the viceroy not only received the vice-consul in his own *yamen*, but also granted all the latter's requests, and sent back with him to Shanghai an official who "displayed the utmost fairness" in arranging what remained of the difficulty. There was here no confirmation of the theory that China yields everything to force and nothing to reason. The inference suggested was rather that direct access to high officials, if possible to the Throne itself, was the great need of the time.

During the years immediately subsequent to these events comparative calm prevailed in the region of China's foreign relations. Regarded superficially, things seemed to be adjusting themselves to smooth and satisfactory grooves. But such was not the aspect they presented to closer scrutiny. Chinese officials at the open ports gradually began to adapt their methods to the Canton model. That was natural and might easily have been anticipated. They had no other precedent to guide them in a novel situation. At Canton, during two centuries and a half, foreign trade had developed customs which now possessed the sanction of prescription. The war had not produced any radical alteration of these customs, except the abolition of the Co-hong system, the substitution of a fixed tariff of duties for variable and arbitrary exactions, and the replacement of trade superintendents by a governor

of Hongkong and by consuls *de carrière*. In all other respects it had merely created five Cantons instead of one, with, however, a marked distinction, namely, that whereas the original privilege of foreign residence and commerce at Canton had been voluntarily granted by China, the same privilege had been extorted from her by force at Ningpo, Foochow, Amoy, and Shanghai. It would have been altogether extravagant to expect that Chinese officials should bring good-will and geniality to bear upon relations which every sentiment of patriotism rendered odious to them. The signatories of a purely voluntary agreement are bound in honour to implement all its stipulations. The signatories of a compact dictated by *force majeure* are justified in seeking to reduce its obligations to a minimum, and even in evading them altogether if that be possible. No Occidental State admits that a pledge extorted from it under duress remains binding for a moment after ability to repudiate it has been acquired. If China had been at any time strong enough to tear up the treaty of Nanking, she would have been strictly within her sovereign right in doing so. She would not have been justified in closing her doors against the ingress of foreigners, for there devolved upon her a moral obligation, as a member of the family of States, to share with them the enjoyment of utilities which nature has not granted in monopoly to any one nation. But she would certainly have been justified in imposing such condi-

tions of intercourse as her own safety demanded. Western writers of her history, with very few exceptions, and Western officials serving within her borders, with still fewer, have not hesitated to denounce her as false and forsworn because, in the early conventional days, she carried her foreign yoke with reluctance and now and again tried to escape from it. To have carried it tamely would have been still more discreditable to her heart, whatever honour it might have done to her intelligence. A few of her great statesmen, like Ilipu and Kiying, were able, with singular sagacity, to gauge the situation and to understand that the more frankly it was accepted, the less irksome would it become. But the ordinary official had no such insight. He saw that his country had been humiliated; that the foreign settlements were abiding evidences of her humiliation, and that it should be his duty, as it certainly was his inclination, to render the treaty concessions as barren as possible for those that had imposed them. Canton showed in a measure how that could be accomplished.

The first lesson to be learned from its history was that a truculent population offered an effective barrier to the extension of foreign intercourse. Therefore Shanghai also began to have turbulent citizens and to be placarded with inflammatory manifestoes, which, if not directly encouraged by the local officials, were certainly not much discountenanced by them. Canton showed, further,

that association on the part of the Chinese could materially restrict foreign operations. Therefore at Shanghai also the old Co-hong system evinced signs of resuscitation, and a cargo-boat trust began to be organised. Finally, Canton showed that custom-house exactions might be employed to the great detriment of foreign commerce. Therefore at Shanghai also duties began to be levied, now with strict vigilance, now with flagrant partiality, so that an element of crippling uncertainty was introduced into the trade. Of course this last abuse was largely due to venality, and could scarcely be attributed to any spirit of deliberate obstructiveness. But all such troubles went to swell the tide of foreign dissatisfaction, so that whereas in 1848 Consul Alcock had written, "our relations with the people and the authorities leave little to be desired," four years later found him declaring that "a progressive and evident deterioration" had taken place in the foreigner's position, and avowing his "firm persuasion that the time had arrived for energetic action." It will occur to the reader that in Shanghai's case, as in Canton's, closer acquaintance with the foreigner and his ways had tended to alienate native goodwill, and that in both places alike the original friendliness of the people was converted into hostility by cognate causes. Doubtless that is true to some extent, and it is also true that the "progressive and evident deterioration" noticed by Consul Alcock in 1852 had begun to be per-

ceptible after his own exhibition of force in 1848. But careful study of the facts indicates that the Chinese officials, acting, it must be admitted, in obedience to a natural and perfectly excusable sentiment, sought to create difficulties instead of removing them. The intercourse inaugurated by force required a further exercise of force to place it on anything like a solid basis.

At this stage an event occurred which, though apparently belonging entirely to the domain of China's domestic politics, owed its origin in part to the Opium War, and exercised a very marked influence on the country's foreign relations.

Chapter VI

EDUCATION, LITERATI, SECRET SOCIETIES, AND REBELLIONS

IT has been already noted that from time immemorial the people of China have been divided into four orders; namely, gentlemen, agriculturists, artisans, and merchants. The gentlemen are the governing class; the members of the civil service. No profession except that of serving the State entitles a man to be called a "gentleman," and since admission to the civil service is obtained by literary culture only — with certain exceptions to be presently noted — it results that education is the path to aristocracy. Titles of nobility exist, but are only an incident of the system. It is true that the Manchus have a hereditary aristocracy; namely, twelve orders conferred solely on members of the imperial house and clan, and eight "princes of the iron crown," representatives of the eight families which aided in securing the crown for the ruling dynasty. These aristocrats live at the charges of the public exchequer, receiving from about twelve thousand to twelve pounds

sterling annually. Few of them hold office in the capital, and still fewer are appointed to responsible positions in the provinces, their principal sphere of official activity being Manchuria. There are, indeed, five purely Chinese titles of nobility, — duke, marquis, count, viscount, and baron, — but only two families are recognised as hereditarily noble; namely, the descendants of Confucius, the "ever sacred duke," and the descendants of the famous pirate Koxinga, "the sea-quelling duke," whose services in expelling the Dutch from Formosa were thus honoured by a country forgetful of his gigantic crimes. For the rest, these titles are now essentially rewards of merit, conferred alike on Chinese, Monguls, or Manchus, and held during the life of the recipient only. As a general rule the high offices of State carry with them a title of nobility, and the truth of the proposition stated above is here also confirmed; namely, that education is the path to aristocracy. In that respect China is essentially democratic. The prizes of greatness are open to all men of talent without any reference to birth.

Another general fact to be noted with regard to the organisation of Chinese society is that no profession is recognised as entitling a man to be called a gentleman. Banker, barrister, physician, priest, merchant-prince, manufacturing nabob, civil engineer, — none of these is a gentleman on account of his employment or his wealth. The

sole *cachet* of aristocracy is literary attainment which has given its proofs. It is possible, indeed, to purchase admission to the rank of gentleman. But that is the exception. No Chinaman who aims at reaching the first social order thinks of setting himself to make money. To enter the service of the State, is his object, and to achieve that object he studies literature. Such has been the rule since the sixth century of the Christian era.

Up to a certain point education is uniform for all. It is essentially moral education. Until the age of seven a boy learns to answer quickly and boldly, a girl to reply deliberately and gently, and both are taught to "speak the simple truth, to stand erect and in their proper places, and to listen with respectful attention." It is impressed upon a lad that the way to become a student is to attend humbly and docilely to every word uttered by his teacher; to cherish no evil designs, but always to act uprightly; to follow virtuous people when he sees them and to conform with good maxims when he hears them; to be neat and orderly in his dress; to carefully regulate his deportment; to observe minute rules of etiquette, and to learn something new every morning, rehearsing it in the evening. Then, the boy having attained the age of seven, a teacher is chosen to whom he is entrusted with much formality, the teacher kneeling before the tablet of Confucius, or some other "Sage," whose blessing he solicits

for his pupil, and thereafter receiving the latter's homage and entreaty to be guided along the path of knowledge. Then a book name is given to the boy, and he commences his work in a room where the only furniture consists of a desk and a stool for each student, an elevated seat for the teacher and a tablet to Confucius, the "Teacher and Pattern for All Ages." The instructor is usually a man who, after repeated attempts to win his way to the State service, — in other words, after many years devoted to unrewarded literary culture, — is compelled to earn his bread in the school-room. It is a poorly remunerated profession, the emoluments seldom exceeding two shillings a day; but the teacher has the respect of the neighbourhood and the reverence of his pupils, who are taught that even to step on his shadow is to be wanting in due veneration. The first primer used is the "Trimetrical Classic," so called because it is written in rhymed lines of six characters with the cæsura in the middle. It is not a spelling book. In China children need not learn to spell: that labour at least is saved by the use of the ideograph. Neither is the Trimetrical Classic a book of simple tales about cats, dogs, flowers, and children. It is a volume of moral precepts, beginning with the doctrine that man's nature is good, and passing on to tell about the value of education; the importance of filial piety and fraternal love; the three powers, three lights and three bonds; the five cardinal virtues;

the six kinds of grain; the main events in the history of China, and the methods and motives of learning, illustrated in the conduct of ancient statesmen and sages, whose examples and successes serve as models and incentives. There is not from first to last a word about the supernatural, nor yet a word that inculcates industry for the sake of wealth-winning. Of course the Trimetrical Classic is not merely a primer of morality. From it a student learns also the forms of the ideographs and their meanings. He has to commit the whole to memory, and indeed it may be said that the chief defect of education in China — a defect not inherent in the system but resulting from the nature of the script — is to exercise the memory more than the intelligence. Simultaneously a commentary on this Classic is studied, and from it the child obtains fuller explanations, so that, by the time he has finished the book, "the highest truths and examples known in the land are more deeply impressed on his mind than are ever biblical truths or examples on the minds of American or European students." Then the boy passes on to the "Century of Surnames," from which he derives knowledge of the family names in use throughout China, as well as further ideographic instruction; and then he takes the "Millenary Classic," so called because it contains a thousand different ideographs, which were linked together into an ode by a scholar of the sixth century. This volume, of which the

original components were simply a thousand of the most commonly used characters, serves not merely as a calligraphic instructor, but also as a treatise on ethics, and, together with the accompanying commentary, inculcates a noble code of morality. The fourth book studied is the "Odes for Children," wherein praises of literature and descriptions of the beauties of nature are set forth in rhymed pentameters. Then follows the "Canon of Filial Piety," and then a work called the "Juvenile Instructor," which is esteemed more highly, perhaps, than any of the others. It treats of education, as well as of man's duties to others and to himself, and it presents to the student a collection of the wise sayings of the ancients, with examples of distinguished personages whose lives illustrate these doctrines.

These six books and the commentaries accompanying them constitute the library of ordinary education. Their aim, it will be observed, is to form the moral character of a boy, not to develop his intellectual faculties; to furnish his heart, not to fill his head. Nothing is taught about geography, about mathematics, about natural philosophy, or about foreign languages. Supernatural religion, too, is altogether absent from the curriculum, and the value of industry as a means of bread-winning is not inculcated. The prospect of everlasting torment does not appal the tender mind, nor does the honey-gathering of the busy bee attract it. From a practical point

of view the child, as he closes the last of the six books, has not acquired anything save a knowledge of reading and writing. Evidently the framers of the system believed that if by the age of eleven or twelve — for the primary school course occupies about four years — a lad has learned to comprehend and revere the principles of ethics, the most valuable foundation will have been laid for his future career.

The second stage of education is that by which the portals of the civil service are entered; in other words, that by which ingress is obtained to the ranks of gentlemen. A candidate, in order to be eligible, must matriculate at one of the Government schools. Each of the eighteen provinces is divided, as the reader already knows, into from ten to fifteen counties (or departments) and each county into a number of districts. Every district, county, and province has its Government High School. A candidate for the civil service must first gain admittance to a district school and then to a county school, where he must graduate, unless he wishes to tread the shorter path of entering a provincial school. Each admittance has to be won by severe competitive examination. Indeed, the schools are now little more than examination halls; a student receives no regular course of instruction there, but merely has his name entered on the register and hears occasional lectures. Nothing disqualifies a candidate for examination except to

be the son of parents engaged in one of the disreputable employments, namely, menial service, barber's work, play-acting, and brothel-keeping. Examinations for district and county schools are held twice in three years. The district examination, being the preliminary one, is least severe so far as the literary test is concerned, but the physical strain on the student is painful. Five days are devoted to the actual work of examination, but as they are separated by intervals for looking over the candidates' papers, the whole time required is fully half a month.

As a competitive ordeal the nature of this trial may be estimated from the fact that not more than two per cent of the candidates emerge successfully from the fifth day's labours. Each day reduces the number, and each examination is attended by a smaller band of the fittest that have survived. The second, or county, examination, at which all the successful district candidates are present, but which may also be attended by students who have not undergone the district test, takes place about a month after the district examination. Here again the process of testing is spread over five days with intervals as before, and the number of competitors that come out of the trial with honour is from one-half to two-thirds of the previously selected candidates. Not yet, however, has the successful student any claim upon the State. To establish that he must do one of two things: graduate at a county high school,

a process requiring at least three years and involving other, though less difficult, examinations, or pass at once to the examination in the provincial capital. The examination for admission to a high school, which takes place before the literary chancellor, occupies a day of about thirteen hours. The students sit in close juxtaposition at large tables, and from the time when the themes are given out at sunrise until 5 or 6 P. M. no candidate is permitted to move from his seat on any pretext whatsoever. If sickness overcomes a youth, he is taken out, and there ends his chance of passing. Deaths frequently occur. One instance is on record where over a hundred students perished during an examination from heat-apoplexy, cholera, or some other epidemic.

The provincial examination takes place once every three years in the capital of the province, where there is provided for the purpose a large enclosure containing, in addition to buildings for the use of the examining commissioners, some ten thousand cubicles, measuring about six feet in depth and eight feet in width, and having grooves in the wall to admit a plank which serves at once as bed and table. Before a candidate enters the enclosure, which he does on the evening previous to the examination, he is carefully searched, and should he be found in possession of any illegal aid, he is put in the cangue, deprived of credit for examinations already passed, and disqualified for any future trial. Having undergone the

search successfully, he is placed in one of the cubicles, there to remain for three days. This process is thrice repeated, so that a candidate's total imprisonment is nine days. He cooks his own food, using edibles and other furniture provided by himself at the outset. Not a few succumb under this severe trial, for many of the competitors are old men. There is no limit of age. A student may try again and again, so that there have been cases of father, son, and grandson competing for the same degree, and the lists occasionally bear names of persons over sixty or even eighty years of age. But in truth the prescribed process is not strictly adhered to. If it were, the strain on examiners and examined alike would be unendurable. In practice, therefore, the work of the first three days is virtually decisive, that of the second and third bouts being almost nominal. Extreme precautions are adopted to guard against favouritism. The candidates hand in sealed papers, which are subsequently opened and copied in red ink by a staff of clerks, so that no examiner sees the handwriting of a candidate. Here again the ratio of successful to unsuccessful candidates is about 1 to 100. Not yet, however, is the prize won. The provincially selected candidate — who is called *chu-jen* (literally "selected man," but probably best translated by *avantageur*) — has still no rank, rights, or privileges superior to those of any other Chinese subject. He must present himself in Peking the

following spring, to undergo two more examinations, — one at the hands of a "grand commissioner," and one within the precincts of the Palace, the latter, however, being only an honorary function. An *avantageur* who fails to pass his Peking examination — which is conducted virtually on the same lines as that in a provincial capital — may present himself again as often as he pleases; but if, at the end of ten years, he is still unsuccessful, then he may apply to be appointed at once to a place in the lower ranks of the civil service.

It will thus be seen that there are three principal routes to civil appointment: first, by passing the provincial and metropolitan examinations, these being the most highly qualified students; secondly, by receiving nomination after ten years' waiting as *avantageur;* and thirdly, by graduating at a Government school. One other avenue remains to be noticed: it is the Imperial Cadet School in Peking, through which the sons of military and civil officers killed in the public service are passed by special favour, in company with other students who obtain admittance by purchase. This purchase system is one of the outcomes of Government impecuniosity. It enables any one to buy a nomination to the Imperial Cadet School, which at once places him on the same footing as a student who has gained admission to one of the State schools in the counties, and it also enables him to buy a post by further dis-

bursements, or to present himself for examination in competition with the *avantageurs*, which last privilege, it need scarcely be said, is not largely utilised. Purchase-men are of course despised by regular candidates, and, as a matter of fact, they do not receive any substantive appointment, but only honorary rank. There is another method of gaining admission to the civil service, namely, by recommendation. Officials of high rank may recommend direct to the Throne any person whom they consider fit and worthy to serve his country. Men thus distinguished are sent to Peking for presentation to the Emperor, and for the purpose of passing a qualificatory examination.

It should also be noted that subsequently to the Palace examination in Peking, where competitors who have successfully passed all the educational tests receive honorary degrees, there is yet another examination held for the purpose of sifting the candidates and determining their fitness for special branches of the service. But these details need not be pursued.

As to the subjects of examination — the subjects which form the staple of secondary education in China — they are, first, the "Four Books" — namely, the Analects of Confucius, the Book of Mencius, the Method of Higher Education, and the Book of Morals — which four are aptly called by a recent Chinese writer the "New Testament of the Chinese Bible;" secondly, the

Five Classics, or Five Canonical Books — namely, the Book of Records, the Book of Poetry, the Book of Changes, the Spring and Autumn Annals, and the Book of Ancient Laws (commonly called the "Book of Rites") — to which the same Chinese scholar has given the name of the "Old Testament of the Chinese Bible." The New Testament is the topic for the first three days of the great examination; the Old Testament is the topic for the next three, and the last three are devoted to general subjects, as history, philosophy, geography, and administration. But since the final result of the examination depends virtually on the work done by a student during the first three days, it may be said that the "Four Books" and the commentaries accompanying them contain the curriculum of secondary education in China. What, then, are these Four Books?

The Analects (*Lun Yu*) has been already spoken of, perhaps sufficiently. It is a work in twenty chapters setting forth the views of Confucius, generally in his own words: in short, a treatise on morals and etiquette.

The work known as "Mencius" consists of seven books, which may be described as an expansion of the philosophy of Confucius, but on a somewhat lower plane, Mencius being more influenced by the politico-economical aspect of ethics than Confucius was.

The Method of Higher Education (*Ta-Hsüeh*), commonly called the "Great Learning," is, in fact,

a section of the Record of Ancient Laws (so-called "Book of Rites"). It has been well described by an eminent sinologue as a short "politico-ethical treatise."

Finally, the Theory of Morals (*Chung-Yung*), generally spoken of by foreign students as the "Doctrine of the Mean," is also a section of the Record of Ancient Laws. Compiled by a grandson of Confucius, it is nothing more than a development of the great teacher's views about the nature of man and his duties.

These brief descriptions suffice to show the accuracy of Kung Hung-ming's term, the "New Testament of the Chinese Bible." To make the four books the theme of an examination is much as though the Gospels, the Epistles, the Acts, and the Revelation were chosen for a similar purpose in an Occidental country.

The Five Classics are already familiar to the reader. But a word of explanation may be added. It might naturally be supposed, when the Book of Records is spoken of, that something like a connected history is in question. But the volume to which this term is applied, and which stands at the head of the Chinese Classics, comprises a number of fragmentary utterances by early writers of China, which had never been collected and edited until Confucius undertook the task. They certainly present a partial picture of the eras prior to the great sage, but how long prior it is difficult to determine with any assurance,

though Confucius himself accepted the commonly assigned limits, namely, from the twenty-fourth to the eighth century before Christ. The Book of Odes also owes its existence as a classic to Confucius. He is said to have chosen the three hundred and five rhymed ballads it contains from some three thousand extant in his time, and to have reduced them to book form. They are simple psalms of life, as it was lived by the people of old time, and though profound significance has been read into them by numerous Chinese commentators, there seems to be no warrant for construing them in any recondite sense. Several of them deal with love, but not one contains an immodest word, and if they show that the beauties of nature and the tyranny of the tender passion were fully appreciated by China's ancient poets, they show also that female virtue, piety, and moral sentiments received high esteem from the fathers of the Chinese race. As to the Book of Ancient Laws and the Book of Changes, enough has been said in previous chapters; and concerning the "Spring and Autumn," it will suffice to add to previous references that it is a chronological record of events in the State of Lu from 722 to 484 B.C., written by Confucius himself; a record which would be very bald and uninteresting had not one of the Sage's disciples, Tso Chuan, added a commentary glowing with life and realism, and justly considered by the Chinese to be a model of prose composition.

In the case of the Five Classics, also, the ac-

curacy of Mr. Kung Hung-ming's epithet is evident, — the "Old Testament of the Chinese Bible." Thus the task set for a Chinese student who desires to enter official life is as though an Anglo-Saxon youth were required to pass an examination in the Christian Bible. But the purpose of the examination is not to ascertain the student's literal acquaintance with the contents of the two Testaments. It is to test the degree of moral culture he has attained by studying them, and the extent to which his intelligence has been developed. Hence he is not asked questions after the manner of a Western examination. He is required to paraphrase and expand a theme taken from one of the Books, and to treat similarly in metrical form a subject taken from the Odes. At the last of the three-day trials in the metropolitan hall his general knowledge may be partially tested; but that is incidental, not essential. The thing to be ascertained is what manner of man he is as to heart and head.

There cannot be many faults with the theory of such a system; but assuredly its practice in China is faulty. There is excessive education in one direction, insufficient in another. The Chinese claim that their idol, ethical literature, is nobler than the Occidental idol, material progress. There is something to be said for their point of view. Certainly, if they could have avoided contact with the outer world, their method of selecting men for the service of the

State would have well suited a type of civilisation in which reverence for the past and subordination of the individual to society are cardinal principles; in which the pursuit of liberal arts is set above any other object of ambition, and in which things of mind and of spirit are more highly respected than things of sense. But the Chinese literati are out of touch with the time; they are too much educated and too little instructed.

The number of candidates obtaining their final degrees is about thirteen hundred annually, but in every twelfth year the figure is larger, a special examination being then held in addition to those normally fixed. Naturally the civil service cannot absorb so many recruits, and it results that numbers of expectant officials remain for years awaiting substantive appointments. These men do not, as might be supposed, constitute an element of discontent. On the contrary, they add to the stability of the Government, for, having won their way to distinction by infinite toil, their disposition is to support the source from which reward will ultimately come. The same is true still more emphatically of those that have been appointed to office. Their whole interest centres in protecting the system against any disturbance. Apart, too, from the official fruits of triumphant learning, there are many gratifications of another kind. A man who returns to his native place with the right to adopt a literary title is almost deified in popular esteem.

His name is publicly proclaimed; guns are discharged, fireworks displayed, and he is allowed to put a sign over the door of his house showing the degree he has obtained.

On the other side stand the vast army of disappointed candidates: a hundred thousand annually, at the lowest estimate. Some of them go on trying again and again till despair takes the place of the eternal spring of hope, or old age incapacitates them for further effort. But the vast majority drift into petty bread-earning positions, as tutors or school-teachers, notaries or clerks, amanuenses or authors, geomancers or physicians, fortune-tellers or *raconteurs*, parasites or beggars. There is much discontent. Many, convinced that their failure is undeserved, — a belief easily fostered by the nature of the test, — harbour malice against the authorities and are prepared to participate in revolutionary enterprises. Others consent to regard themselves as failures, and cultivate the humility adapted to such a conviction. There is probably no other country in the world where youths are subjected to such a severe and bitter ordeal.

With exceptions so rare as to prove the rule, the literati are anti-foreign. It was they that commenced in Canton the custom of placarding the city with pasquinadoes in which the foreigner was reviled or slandered and the citizen invited to contrive his expulsion, — a custom subsequently followed with increasing frequency in most of

the important towns throughout the Empire. In 1842, when a high official who had taken a prominent part in "buying off" the British, as the Chinese expressed it, instead of beating them off, entered the examination hall at Canton, the students drove him out by pelting him with ink-stones, and the unpopular official had to resign. That incident, if it illustrates the helplessness of Chinese local officials to do what foreigners constantly censured them for not doing, control popular excitement, illustrates also the keen interest taken by the literati of that era in their country's foreign politics. Since then the voice of the literati has continually led the anti-foreign cry. In return they have been bitterly denounced by the objects of their dislike; have been called the curse of their country, and have been accused of fatally blocking the path of progress. Yet to say that the literati are hostile to foreigners is only another way of saying that the educated class is hostile; for the literati are the educated men of the nation, and to say — as many say — that the system under which they become literati is responsible for their inhospitable mood, is to ignore the obvious reasons they have for hostility. Certainly in one respect the system is vicariously responsible, for by creating an immense host of expectant officials, it creates also a crowd of eager acrid critics, inspired by self-interest to condemn the acts of substantive officials and to devise embarrassments for them, since every office

vacated relieves, to that extent, the hunger of the unappointed. Thus an official seeking to protect foreign life and property encounters opposition from some of the literati because failure to afford protection probably means his ruin; and from nearly all the literati, because foreign life and property are far from being objects of friendly solicitude to them. But if educated Chinese are anti-foreign, is that to be attributed to innate disposition or to practical experience? Would the educated classes of any nation be pro-foreign under similar circumstances? Be that as it may, however, the situation would be clearer if Western writers spoke of anti-foreign feeling, not on the part of Chinese literati, but on the part of educated China.

A disposition to co-operate is among the prominent traits of Chinese character. Probably no other country possesses a greater number of societies and associations. Guilds exist in every city or town, some of a tradal nature, some of an administrative. The former need not be spoken of here; the latter are an outcome of municipal regulations which require citizens to unite for the purpose of preserving order and maintaining police. In large towns these guilds resemble local assemblies: they have halls where they meet to discuss matters affecting their interests and, sometimes, public affairs in general. A conspicuous example of the latter procedure was witnessed in Canton in 1842, when a crowded

meeting voted a manifesto breathing sentiments of burning hostility towards England. There are also co-operative loan societies whose members contribute to form a total sum of which each has the use in turn; co-operative worship societies whose associates subscribe to a fund which, being lent out at high rates of interest again and again during a term of years, ultimately suffices to pay the expenses of the subscribers on a pilgrimage to some sacred mountain; co-operative crop-watching societies, whose associates put together a fund to pay for the guarding of their grainfields against thieves,[1] and co-operative societies of workmen who pay small annual amounts to a fund of insurance against accident or sickness. All these have useful aims and are without any political complexion. It can scarcely be doubted that the important place occupied by the family in China's social organisation has tended to educate a spirit of co-operation; for the Chinese family is in one sense an economic group of persons who by union improve their working efficiency, reduce their expenses, and provide more effectually for mutual aid. The clan, that is to say, the group of families having the same surname, of which there are some four hundred in China, does not by any means offer an example of wholesome combination, for it often employs the strength of its members in the cause of violence and oppression. Clan feuds are frequent, and sometimes the acts

[1] See Appendix, note 8.

they prompt are of a shocking nature. A strange feature of village co-operation is seen in the bands of "devoted men," who are prepared to surrender themselves to justice in order to expiate the crimes of a community or of a clan, on condition that if they are capitally punished, their families shall be supported at the expense of the clan.

From such unions it is a short step to secret societies. These have attracted much foreign attention, and some curious accounts have been published of their origin, their organisation, their mystic rites, and their mysterious designs. That a large number have existed in China, from time to time, cannot be questioned, and that, with insignificant exceptions, they have owed their existence to popular discontent or political disaffection, seems equally indisputable. They first appear in the pages of history nineteen centuries ago, in the form of an association called the "Red Eyebrows" because its members marked themselves in that way before going into battle. But it cannot be confidently alleged that these Red Eyebrows were a secret society. Their story accords better with the theory that they merely followed the standard of a claimant for the throne. At any rate the period of their activity was contemporaneous with the fall of the early Han dynasty, and they thus established a precedent, said to be regarded with uneasiness by Chinese officialdom, namely, that a season of special activity on the part of secret associations

generally preludes a change of dynasty. Simultaneously with the Red Eyebrows the "Copper Steeds" and the "Iron Shins" assisted to disturb the era, and when the second Han dynasty was approaching the hour of its demise (221 A. D.), that catastrophe was assisted by the "Yellow Turbans," memorable in Chinese annals because it was to assist them that the three immortal heroes, Kwan, Liu, and Chang, swore fealty to each other in a "Peach Garden,"[1] and kept the oath so valiantly that posterity raised the first of them to the position of God of War (*Kwan-ti*). Other associations present themselves at later dates, but not until the fourteenth century did a secret brotherhood, unquestionably meriting that title, enter the arena. This was the White Lotus Society. It had a religious character, in which respect it differed from all the associations spoken of above — the Yellow Turbans, Red Eyebrows, and so on — and resembled all secret societies of subsequent eras. But although the name "White Lotus" was chosen expressly to suggest Buddhist affinities, the associates might just as properly have been called "Red Turbans," for they used the religious element merely to canonise their name, and wore the red turban when in pursuit of their real design, which was to plant their leader on the throne in violent succession to the last of the Yuan sovereigns. They did not succeed. No secret society has ever been literally

[1] See Appendix, note 9.

successful in China. But they materially augmented the confusion of the time, and thus contributed to the result they contemplated, namely, the overthrow of the Mongol dynasty, though the fruits of victory fell to the Chinese Ming. Then, faithful to precedent, the White Lotus faded out of sight until the seventeenth century, when, the Ming rulers having nearly run their course, symptoms of maladministration and disorder were becoming prominent. Apparently the society had retained its organisation for two hundred and fifty years, for it now lent aid to an usurper who sought to wrest the throne from the Ming. The latter almost succumbed to the shock, but developed sufficient vigour to overcome the White Lotus, only to fall, a few years later, under the blows of the Manchu invaders. Thus once more history repeated itself by placing a secret society in the van of unrest but giving the prize to others. Thenceforth, during the strong and prosperous reigns of the early Manchu sovereigns, little was heard of secret societies; but the Emperor Chien-lung, in whose reign (1766–1796) the White Lotus had been supplemented by other associations — the Triads, the White Clouds, and the Illustrious Worthies — took measures to break up these leagues. It was one of the very few acts of his that lacked thoroughness. As the Chinese proverb says, he "stirred the cane-brake and roused the snake," so that the close of the eighteenth century wit-

nessed a ten years' struggle which is said to have cost the Government two hundred millions of taels, and which certainly involved an immense loss of life. The White Lotus Society on that occasion made the restoration of the Ming their watchword, and it was probably because the avowal of such a purpose never failed to attract support that Chien-lung sought to crush the secret societies completely. He did not achieve his end. The next occupant of the throne, Kia-king, became the object of a dangerous conspiracy in which several societies are recorded as having been concerned, — the White Lotus, the White Feather, the Three Sticks of Incense, the Eight Diagrams, and the Rationalists.[1] The conspiracy failed, but it was followed by a fierce insurrection in Hunan, Shantung, Chili, and Shensi, which gave the Government's forces much trouble, but ended in the crushing defeat of the White Lotus and their virtual disappearance from the scene. Meanwhile the Triad Society had begun to attract attention. The time of its origin is usually spoken of as uncertain, but there is no valid reason to doubt the records of the society itself, which say that it was organised in 1689 by a party of Buddhist priests who had suffered cruel injustice at the hands of the Emperor Kanghsi. What is material, however, is that the Triads did not appear in the pages of history as open insurgents until the last quarter

[1] See Appendix, note 10.

of the eighteenth century. Formosa was the scene of their rebellion, and it derives interest from the personality of a female leader, Chen, whose record rivals that of Lucrezia Borgia. Thenceforward much was heard of the Triads. Their influence spread in Kiangsi, Kwangsi, Kwangtung, and Fuhkien, and, throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, several minor insurrections in which they took the leading part show how widespread and powerful their organisation had become. None of the secret societies in China attracted so much attention from foreigners in former days as the Triads, for not only the mystery attaching to their organisation, but also the fact that they made their presence felt in Hongkong and in Singapore invested them with special interest. It seemed that an association with such extensive ramifications and such an enduring power of cohesion must be based on a great purpose. An officer of detective police, Mr. W. Stanton, who had passed many years in the Chinese service, took much pains to investigate the ceremonies and rituals of the society, and set forth the results of his labour in a volume where any one, with sufficient patience to peruse all the details, may learn many things about the curious mummeries, mystic symbols, doggerel verses, catechisms, regulations, secret signs, test words, and other furniture of a Chinese secret society; but the sum of useful information to be gained is that the Triad—

more probably called the "heaven and earth association" — has only one acknowledged purpose, restoration of the Ming dynasty to the sovereign place now occupied by the usurping Manchu, and that a vein of religion runs through all the organisation, — religion in which Buddhism, Taoism, and the ancient creed of China are all represented. One other secret society deserves to be mentioned, the *Ko-lao-hui*, which has always been regarded as especially hostile to foreigners. The *Ko-lao-hui* has never distinguished itself in open rebellion, and little is now heard of it, though a few years ago its name was associated with an epidemic of fierce attacks upon Christian propagandists and their native converts, a form of lawlessness not previously attributed to any secret society in China.

That the leading members of these organisations have always been recruited from the unemployed literati there can be little question. In fact, without the co-operation of literati no Chinese society could reduce its motives to writing, construct its formulæ, compile its rituals, and prepare the manifestoes which materially serve to educate public opinion in China, taking the place of the still absent press and platform. In modern times the most important among these secret societies — though indeed the term is scarcely applicable in this case — was that organised by Hung Hsiu-chuan, leader of the *Taiping* rebellion. Even if that great disturbance had not attracted attention

for the sake of its magnitude and its results, it would derive interest from the diversity of the views expressed about it in the Occident. Many intelligent Europeans and Americans believe now, as they or their fathers believed forty years ago, that the outbreak was inspired and directed by converts to orthodox Christianity, and that its success would have brought about the Christianisation of China, in the true sense of the term "Christian." Others hold that the religion professed by Hung and his followers did not deserve to be called Christianity, so degraded was it in doctrine and so perverted in dogma, and that the overthrow of the Manchu by the *Taiping* would not have brought China appreciably nearer to the portals of progress. Then again it is held in some quarters that the rebellion would have achieved its purpose had not Great Britain intervened to crush it, whereas in others the confident conviction is that the fate of the *Taiping* insurgents had been sealed long before a foreign arm was raised in opposition to them. It will easily be conjectured that those sceptical as to the Christian character of the movement are also those that deny its overthrow by foreign interference. In fact, the question at issue between the disputants is whether a Christian country of the Occident must be held responsible for preventing in China a dynastic change which not only would have admitted the Middle Kingdom to the circle of Christendom, but would also have converted the Chinese nation

from lethargic conservatism, which now threatens the destruction of the Empire and the disruption of the world's peace, to enlightened liberalism by which alone both can be preserved.

Hung Hsiu-chuan was a disappointed literatus. He did not fail once but many times to qualify for the civil service. Again and again he emerged from the district examination with distinction, only to be cast in the county test, and his attempts to pass the provincial examination without going through that of the county proved equally unavailing. Hard study, bitter disappointment, and strained circumstances combined to undermine his constitution and shake his reason. Becoming cataleptic, he saw in one of his trances a strange vision, which, being repeated several times, persuaded him that destiny had great things in store for him, though the steps by which he should climb the eminence remained unintelligible. While under the bewildering influence of these visions, some Christian tracts fell into his hands, and, on reading them, sudden illumination came to him. He found stories there of men caught up to heaven, where vital truths were made clear to them, and of others who, conversing face to face with God on mountain-tops, returned with a gospel for their fellows. At the same time he found nothing to indicate that the age of such miracles had passed away pending the miracle of the world's destruction, nor did he find anything to indicate that a human being in the nineteenth

century would be guilty of blasphemy did he imagine himself the object of divine favour such as had been vouchsafed to human beings in earlier eras. What he did find, as he supposed, was that the Bible enabled him to interpret his vision; and that since without the Bible he could not have understood the vision, nor without the vision the Bible, therefore to this curious correlation of events a significance more than human must be attached. He became a convert to Christianity, such as he found it in the tracts which had come into his hands fortuitously, which had been preserved by him for seven years aimlessly, and which had led him to the light unconsciously. As to the nature of his Christianity, however, there are differences of opinion, — differences of opinion so radical that ample allowance must evidently be made for the personal equations of the observers. The latest information on the subject was placed before the Anglo-Saxon public in 1891. It is contained in a work entitled "Events in the Taiping Rebellion, being reprints of MSS. copied by General Gordon, C. B., in his own handwriting, with monograph, introductions, and notes, by A. Egmont Hake." In this work are quoted some of the various opinions publicly expressed by men who were actually on the scene at the time of the *Taiping* rebellion. Those opinions are uniformly unfavourable to the religious belief of the insurgents. Gordon himself was eminently a Christian; a man whose Christianity bore the noblest

possible fruit in his every-day life. It would be an unforgivable desecration of his memory that in one of the greatest crises of his eventful career he should be represented as leading the forces of a pagan government to the destruction of a body of men struggling for the cause of Christianity. He led the forces of the Manchu Government against the *Taiping* insurgents, and the book whose title is quoted above describes his exploits in that character. Therefore it is easily conceivable that the author's choice of evidence should have been dictated by considerations of loyalty to a hero whom he admired. But with such considerations the historian has nothing to do. Here, then, shall be set down verbatim extracts from the writings of eminent men so far as they are procurable : —

Mr. Roberts, an American missionary, from whom the *Taiping* leader received some religious instruction, has joined the insurgents at Soochow. He has described one of their religious meetings at which he attended. . . . He expresses doubts as to the ceremony having any other meaning in the eyes of the worshippers than is attached to the rites performed by the Emperor. He seems to think that they consider *Shang-ti* merely as the material heaven and earth. (Sir F. Bruce to Lord J. Russell. 1862).

The Chang-wang (one of the *Taiping* leaders) proceeded to give an outline of Christianity which, though very loose and general, contained little that could be objected to : — God, the creator of all things; Jesus, his son, the Saviour of the world; the Holy Spirit—

the words correct in the main, though I afterwards became convinced that neither he nor any of them had any adequate idea of their true significance. . . . I had hoped that their doctrines, though crude and erroneous, might notwithstanding embrace some of the elements of Christianity. The Holy Spirit they made a nonentity. . . . Among the features of their theology that shocked me most may be mentioned the following: they speak of the wife of the Heavenly Father and of the wife of Jesus; also the Senior Western King (one of their leaders) has married a sister of Jesus. [The writer then mentions that some well-informed persons did not think there was here any idea of a divine alliance, but he declares that his conversations with the rebels convinced him to the contrary.] Furthermore they hold that their leader is the son of God as fully and in the same manner as Jesus is. Some of their most intelligent men, with whom I conversed, defended their worshipping him upon precisely this ground. . . . That this worship is of the same character as that addressed to Jesus and to the Heavenly Father there can be no doubt. . . . The assumptions he makes in his proclamations,[1] it appears to me, moreover, would unmistakably indicate the kind of worship he would demand. The son of the chief is likewise a member of the divine family. He is the adopted son of Jesus. . . . Their idea of God is distorted until it is inferior, if possible, to that entertained by other Christian idolaters. The idea which they entertain of a Saviour is likewise low and general, and his honours are shared by another. (Report of the Rev. Mr. Holmes, 1860.)

I was present at their religious meetings, which are regularly held every morning and evening, but I would not join them until I knew what they were doing. They sang a hymn, and having previously placed three

[1] See Appendix, note 11.

cups of tea on the table (in honour of the Holy Trinity), they knelt down, one of them reading or saying an appropriate prayer. There was no worship of *Taiping-Wang* (the leader). While sitting in the palace there came frequent orders for books on religious subjects, and, so far as the Chinese care for religion, these men sang and prayed with a will and with apparent devotion. (Rev. W. Lobschied, 10th June, 1863.)

Going about sometimes for several hours a day, I have been abundantly encouraged by the number and attention of the audiences. It seems as if there was a foundation to go upon from the amount of religious knowledge diffused among the people. There is a response, if not in their hearts, at least in their thoughts, to the tidings of mercy. They are made familiar at every step with the name and compassion of the Heavenly Father, by the unprecedented practice of recording the fact over every door. When, therefore, the same truths are announced in their hearing by a foreign missionary, they give a ready assent and express their cordial approval. (Rev. W. Muirhead, 1861.)

The insurgents are making rapid strides and are determined to uproot idolatry in the land and to plant Christianity in its room. . . . The downfall of idolatry in the land seems to be bound up with their success. Never did China present such a spectacle to the Christian world. (Rev. Griffith John, 1861.)

The *Taipings* have created a vacuum not only in temples but also in the hearts of the people, which remains to be filled. This is the missionary's work. . . . My object was to obtain from the chief an edict of religious toleration. This I have obtained. It gives full permission to missionaries of every persuasion to enter into and live in the insurgents' territory for the purpose of carrying on missionary work. (Rev. Griffith John, 1860.)

Viewed as a piece of contemporary history, the fact of the rise and progress, in this old seat of Confucianism and Buddhism, of the Bible-spreading *Taiping* Christianity — be its exact character what it may — is one of the most interesting spectacles that the annals of the human race presents; and if the *Taipings* succeed in becoming the rulers of the Chinese people, it will prove one of the most momentous. (Mr. Consul Meadows to Lord J. Russell, Feb. 19, 1861.)

The *Taiping* leader rendered the insurrection a great religious movement. He did not transmute a Christian fraternity into a political rebellion. . . . There are important questions which we have to consider respecting the character of the religion of the insurgents; e. g. are its doctrines essentially those of the Christian religion? Do the elements of truth preponderate over those of error? Are the defects which may be observable among them such as constitute a reasonable ground for condemning the whole movement as one of unmingled evil and the work of Satanic power? Or are they the natural shortcomings of a body of imperfectly enlightened men, placed in a situation of novel difficulty, labouring under almost unexampled disadvantages in the pursuit of truth, without spiritual instructors and guides, with only a few copies of Holy Scriptures and those apparently in small detached and fragmentary portions, with no forms of prayer or manuals of devotion, having their minds distracted amid the arduous toil of a campaign . . . and yet amid all these hindrances and drawbacks, evincing a hopeful, praiseworthy, and promising vigour of mind and independence of action, in the great undertaking of a moral revolution of their country? We do not hesitate to assert that ours is the latter and more favourable view. (The Bishop of Victoria, 1860).

These lines . . . deserve to be written in letters of gold, and we could desire nothing better for the Chinese

than that they were engraven on every heart. (Rev. Dr. Medhurst on a hymn from the "Book of Religious Precepts of the *Taiping* Dynasty.")

This is decidedly the best production issued by the insurgents. The reasoning is correct, the prayers are good, the ceremonies enjoined (with the exception of the offerings) are unobjectionable; the Ten Commandments agree in spirit with those delivered by Moses, and the hymns are passable. The statements of the doctrines of human depravity, redemption by the blood of Jesus, and the renewal of the heart by the influence of the Holy Spirit, are sufficient to direct any honest inquirers in the way to heaven. (Dr. Medhurst on the "Book of Religious Precepts of the *Taiping* Dynasty.)

The "Ode for Youth" gives some admirable lessons regarding the honour due to God, who is the Creator and Father of all. It sets forth in very clear terms the coming of Jesus into the world for the salvation of men by shedding of his blood on the cross, and then goes on to detail the duties that are required of us as parents and children, brothers and sisters, husbands and wives, relatives and friends, concluding with instructions as to the management of the heart and the external senses. Altogether it is an excellent book, and there is not a word in it which a Christian missionary might not adopt, and circulate as a tract for the benefit of the Chinese. (Rev. Dr. Medhurst.)

"The Trimetrical Classic" (of the *Taipings*) is a very remarkable document, as evidencing that the writer, if there was but one, possessed great knowledge of both Old and New Testament history, of the plan of salvation, and of practical Christianity. (Dr. Medhurst.)

It is evident that the religious element enters very powerfully into the great revolutionary movement. Nothing can be more erroneous than the supposition that it is a purely political one, and that religion occu-

pies but a subordinate place in it. So far is this from being the case that, on the contrary, it is the basis on which the former rests and is its life-perpetuating source. The downfall of idolatry and the establishment of the worship of the true God are objects aimed at by them with as much sincerity and devotion as the expulsion of the Manchu and the conquest of the Empire. In opposition to the pantheistic notions of the philosophers of the Sung dynasty, they hold the doctrine of the personality of the Deity; in opposition to the popular polytheistic notions, they have the clearest conception of the unity of God; and in opposition to the fatalism of philosophical Buddhism, they believe in and teach the doctrine of an all-superintending providence. This appears on the very surface, and no one can be among them for any length of time without being impressed with it. (Narrative of a Journey among the Taipings by the Rev. Messrs. Edkins, John, Macgowan, and Hall, July 16, 1860.)

With respect to the religion of the *Taipings*, its aim is the subversion of the old religions by means which would serve to introduce a spurious kind of Christianity; the leader, having but little idea of the spiritual character of his religion, would inaugurate a very superficial change, and, while outwardly there would be a difference, there would be but little radical alteration. (Rev. Mr. Muirhead.)

The inquirer after truth in this matter finds himself perplexed not merely by flagrant divergence of views on the part of different authorities, but even by contradiction between the views of one and the same writer. As to the weight of testimony it is largely in favour of the religious earnestness and genuine Christianity of the insur-

gents, nor does it seem possible to doubt, after calm review of the facts, that the Bishop of Victoria was right when he attributed the imperfections of their form of faith to want of instruction rather than to lack of sincerity. The limitations that men have arbitrarily placed on the binding force of Old-Testament precepts and examples, while at the same time they call the book inspired, could not possibly suggest themselves to the mind of an untaught reader, and if he should fall into the error of imagining that to believe in a modern revelation is blasphemous, though patriarchs, priests, prophets, disciples, and apostles were thus honoured by heaven in olden times, would he be more blameworthy than if he should fail to discover — what does not exist in the Bible — a command against polygamy? The *Taiping* leader, indeed, owing to the latter failure, married thirty wives and kept a hundred concubines, which license damaged his cause in the eyes of foreign onlookers more effectually than all the unorthodox tenets of his theology. He appears to have possessed an abundant share of the personal magnetism that often accompanies fanatic faith, and the influence he exercised on a multitude of his countrymen is sufficient proof that he believed in his own mission. Undoubtedly the Opium War taught him the hitherto unsuspected weakness of the Manchu, but whether, learning simultaneously the strength of foreign nations, he conceived the project of propitiating the latter by a

profession of Christian faith while seizing the occasion to attack the former, is a question that the reader of hearts can alone answer. Evidences of such political craftiness are not discernible in the story of his early career; yet such an interpretation has been put upon it. At first he cannot be said to have adopted the rôle of general religious propagandism. The converts he won were among friends and companions who, in the course of every-day intercourse, came to share his theories. Thus, by slow processes, a little band of believers drew together, and their union was cemented by community of suffering, for iconoclastic zeal betrayed them into acts that drew down upon them the vengeance of the law. Fortuitous events precipitated the crisis. Kwangtung and Kwangsi are notable among the Chinese provinces as haunts of quasi-gypsies (*Hakka*) who habitually appropriate vacant land without any serious care as to its ownership, and are thus involved in frequent feuds with the settled inhabitants (*Punti*). The religious clan established by Hung and his co-workers served as a rallying-point for many of these *Hakkas* who had been driven from their temporary settlements, and thus the *Shang-ti* worshippers — for so they called themselves — ultimately became objects of hostility to the land-owners of the province, to the followers of Buddhism and Taoism, and to the civil authorities. Driven by these circumstances into open rebellion, they commenced a move-

ment which ultimately swept throughout nearly the whole Empire, costing the lives of millions of people, pushing the Manchu dynasty to the verge of ruin, keeping the realm in a ferment for fourteen years, and ultimately betraying England and France into a course which, if it be finally declared erroneous, can never be too much regretted.

Chapter VII

THE SECOND WAR AND THE EVENTS PRECEDING IT

THE Chinese, when they rose against the usurping Mongols, called themselves subjects of the "great illustrious dynasty" (*Ta-Ming*); the usurping Manchu, when they drove out the Ming, adopted the title "great pure dynasty" (*Ta-Tsing*), and the Kwangsi rebels, when they marched against the Manchu, chose the name "great peace dynasty" (*Tai-Ping*). Offers to join them came from the Triads, and were accepted in the case of those that agreed to embrace the Christianity of the insurgents. It appears that although the rebel leader belonged to the literate class, his early followers were chiefly of the lower orders. The greatest soldier among the associates — himself originally a charcoal-seller — has left it on record that the movement obtained little support from educated or wealthy persons. But during its subsequent progress the rebellion undoubtedly attracted considerable numbers of well-informed and prosperous Chinese, some of whom sincerely

shared the leader's religious views, some were attracted by his purpose of overturning the Manchu dynasty, and some threw in their lot with him from motives of expediency. Three vetoes were promulgated at the outset and strictly enforced to the close, — a veto against the use of opium, a veto against tobacco or alcohol, and a veto against binding the feet of women.

Within three years from the time of raising their standard the *Taiping* forces obtained possession of Nanking, the southern capital of China, the city under whose walls the first foreign treaty had been signed eleven years previously. Up to that moment, obeying the true instinct of revolution, they pushed steadily forward, not allowing their progress to be checked by cities that proved too strong to be quickly captured, and not suffering their opponents to rally from the surprise of such a precipitate onset. They maintained comparatively good discipline throughout the long march from Kwangsi to the banks of the Yangtse, not wantonly molesting the peaceful inhabitants or laying waste the country. But by the imperial troops which hung on their rear or fled before them harrowing cruelties and excesses were perpetrated. Barbaric methods have always disgraced the Chinese in their conduct of warlike operations. When victorious, they give the rein to their passions of rapine and cruelty; when defeated, they wreak their vengeance upon the defenceless people. Wherever the *Taipings* had

passed, the Imperialists, following them, held the inhabitants responsible for a result which the latter could not have prevented, and thus the track of the rebellion was marked with blood not all shed by the rebels. There is, however, a reservation to be made. The *Taipings*, in the nature of things, had no military base nor any regular line of communications. They depended for supplies on the country through which they passed. Further, the only recruits they could expect were those that they gathered on their route. Therefore they took provisions where they found them, and therefore, also, they enforced, in every district they traversed, a system which may be described as universal conscription. Much suffering thus became the people's lot, and it was augmented by their own terrors. For tradition has depicted the horrors of war in such appalling proportions to the average Chinaman that the expectation is generally worse to him than the reality. Hence, under the influence of mad panic, many non-combatants, especially women, hasten to commit suicide at the approach of an army. All impartial evidence goes to show that the conduct of the *Taipings* gave little cause for such fanatic self-sacrifice. In the early stages of the campaign, when provisions and recruits had to be obtained relentlessly, their procedure may well have stricken fear into the hearts of all peaceful folk. But they subsequently abandoned the system of conscription, supplied their wants by purchase

rather than by foray, and sought to save life instead of sacrificing it. The Imperialists, on the contrary, slew, burned, and destroyed with unsparing hand. A different policy inspired each side. The Manchu officers, considering that the insurrection could not live without popular support, deliberately set themselves to give a practical demonstration that such support would be fatal to any one furnishing it. Therefore whenever they came into occupation of a place previously held by the insurgents, they prepared an appalling object by slaughtering the inhabitants wholesale. The *Taipings*, on the contrary, after they had gained sufficient strength to be discriminating, sought to enlist popular support by forbearance and conciliation. Each obeyed an intelligible motive; but the result was that whereas the Manchus butchered, devastated, and destroyed wherever they marched, the *Taipings* protected, preserved, and guarded. This humane rule had no force, however, when a Tartar garrison fell into *Taiping* hands. Extermination was then practised; extermination without distinction of age, sex, or calling. Neither were prisoners spared by either side.

A further distinction was that whereas the Manchu soldiery treated with aversion and ferocity any foreigner venturing among them, the *Taipings* welcomed him and gave him safe passage.

Eleven years had now elapsed since the conclu-

sion of the Nanking treaty. British trade with China was beginning to assume considerable dimensions. Hongkong promised to become a valuable possession, and Shanghai showed signs of growing into a prosperous settlement. The *Taipings* could no longer be ignored, especially as the commanding position they had gained on China's great waterway gave them power to obstruct a large part of the supplies of tea and silk which formed the chief staples of the export trade. On silk in particular the eyes of Europe were earnestly fixed. It has already been noted that at the time of the East India Company's disappearance from the scene of its long monopoly, the "balance of trade" was greatly against China. Tea was practically the only article that she sold to foreign countries in large quantities. There were minor products, — rhubarb, sugar, matting, camphor, and such things, — but they bulked insignificantly in the total. On the other hand, England sold to China piece goods representing a large value, and, above all, sold to her such an abundance of opium that something like two millions sterling had to be annually exported from Canton in specie to redress the balance. This state of affairs inspired anxiety in Great Britain, not because any special solicitude was felt about China's finances, but because there prevailed a crude notion that for every dollar's worth of her own produce sent by China to foreign markets, a dollar's worth of British goods might

be sent from England to Chinese markets. From that point of view — scarcely credible now, though only sixty years have elapsed since it prevailed — it seemed cardinally important that China should find something else to sell to the West, and the compensating staple proved to be silk, which, a few years after the opening of Shanghai, began to figure in the export returns on a scale that exceeded the most sanguine expectations. The *Taipings* at Nanking not only controlled some of the richest silk-producing districts, but might at any moment obtain the control of others. England, therefore, had to consider her attitude towards the insurgents, and the result of her reflection was that, a month after the establishment (March, 1853) of the *Taiping* ruler's court at Nanking — for Hung was now a monarch with the title of "heavenly king" (*tien-wang*) — Sir George Bonham proceeded to that city from Hongkong in H. B. M. S. *Hermes*. His Excellency, who, as Governor of Hongkong, represented Great Britain in China, was received with cordiality by the leaders of the rebels. At first there was a moment's hesitation while religious beliefs were compared, but so soon as the *Taipings* had assured themselves that the essentials of their newly adopted faith were identical with those of their visitors' creed, relations of amity were at once established. The English were made free of the whole city, were assured that the *Taipings* desired nothing better than the most

intimate intercourse, and were treated with unvarying kindness during the five days of their sojourn. Policy naturally had some influence in this matter, but nothing can materially discount the significance of the fact that among the thousands of *Taipings* with whom the people of the *Hermes* came into contact during the ship's stay at Nanking, not one evinced anything but cordial friendship. Relations of similar closeness with Manchu soldiers would have produced very different results. It appears unquestionable that had the *Taipings* succeeded in overthrowing the Tartar dynasty, China would have been thrown open completely to foreign trade and the course of history must have been changed radically. The country might not have been Christianised: religion cannot be officially forced upon a nation. But the state creed would have been Christian; a somewhat misshapen form of the faith, perhaps, but yet a form that might easily have been cured of its distortions. The opium question would have presented itself inconveniently, for since every convert to the *Taiping* cause was required to swear complete abstention from the drug, the success of the rebellion must have meant the extinction of the opium trade.

Her Britannic Majesty's Government, speaking through its representative, Sir George Bonham, declared to the *Taiping* chief that England would remain perfectly neutral during the conflict, and that she would continue to refrain from lending

assistance of any kind to the Manchu Government. That, of course, amounted to a recognition of the insurgents as belligerents. In no other sense could Sir George Bonham's act have been construed in an Occidental country. Perhaps, however, since the rules of international law did not hamper, and never have hampered, an European State in its dealings with China, Sir George did not regard his pledge very seriously.

Beyond Nanking the *Taipings* made no substantial progress northward. In the interests of their cause they should have marched at once upon Peking. Had they done so, the fall of the Manchu dynasty could scarcely have been averted. Possibly their leader, quailing before the magnitude of such a task, proposed to himself the less formidable though still immense enterprise of subduing that moiety of the Empire which lies southward of the Yangtse. Possibly he conceived that the secure tenure of Nanking would be hopeless until the cities left unreduced in his rear had been wrested from the grasp of the Imperialists. At all events, he did not immediately make any resolute attempt to strike at the Manchu throne, though its fall would have paralysed all resistance elsewhere. But among his followers there was one who seems to have risen to the level of the occasion. It was Li, the ex-charcoal-seller, now styled the "Loyal King." Placed at the head of a small body of seven thousand men, with general orders to operate on the northern bank

of the Yangtse, this intrepid commander, whose name deserves a place beside those of the great captains of the world, crossed the river in May, 1853, and deliberately set his face towards Peking. It was like marching across one-half of hostile Europe, without any basis of supplies, without any avenue of retreat, without any cavalry, without any artillery, and without any reserves. The operation known to modern strategists as "launching a column into space" was never more accurately illustrated. In six months Li's little force, gathering five thousand recruits *en route* but losing fully that number of men by casualties, accomplished a march of fourteen hundred miles; reached Tientsin; failed to capture it, the surrounding country being inundated; went into winter quarters at Tsinghai without any winter clothing; held that place for some months against an enormously superior beleaguering force, and finally, cutting its way through the besiegers, effected a retreat lasting nearly three months, pursued all the while by a host of enemies rich in cavalry, and at length effected a junction with a relieving column sent out from Nanking. It was one of the most extraordinary marches on record. But the failure of Li's splendid effort may be said to have saved the Manchu dynasty. Thenceforth the Imperial forces had leisure to close on the line of the Yangtse, and although a dash at Peking was attempted by the same general eight years later, the circumstances had

so changed in the interval that his repulse was inevitable from the outset.

In the year 1853, when Li, the "Loyal King" set out upon his remarkable march towards the Manchu capital, the Triads again rose in rebellion. Their original impulse to make common cause with the *Taipings* had been checked partly by a difference of political aim, partly by a divergence of religious views. But when the "Heavenly King" established himself in Nanking, his brilliant successes incited the Triads to renewed action. Desiring, at all events, to share in the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty, they attacked Amoy and Shanghai, and having captured the two cities, tendered their allegiance to the *Taiping* leader. With him, however, religion seems to have been as potent as ambition. The co-operation of the Triads must have strengthened him materially, yet he declined to accept it unless they, on their side, agreed to accept Christianity such as he and his followers professed. It is said that he sent men to instruct them in the doctrines of the foreign faith, and there is independent evidence in corroboration of that version, for a Christian missionary, Dr. Medhurst, when preaching within the city of Shanghai during its occupation by the Triads, found his words endorsed and enforced by one of these emissaries.[1] But the Triads, failing immediate support, were driven from Amoy and Shanghai,

[1] See Appendix, note 12.

disappearing thenceforth from the field of active operations.

It was at these two places, Amoy and Shanghai, that foreigners first had an opportunity of contrasting the tempers and methods of the Manchu and their opponents, and it was also in connection with the Triads' occupation of Shanghai that there occurred some incidents of permanent importance in the history of China's foreign relations.

As to Amoy, nothing need be noted except that, after holding the place for three months, the Triads evacuated it (November, 1853), and the Imperialist forces, marching in, perpetrated a wholesale butchery. For a time the work of slaughter was carried on under the eyes of the British community, but when, the sword-arms of the butchers becoming weary, they began to tie the people in groups and pitch them into the sea, the sight became too much for the Europeans. They rushed in, rescued about four hundred of the intended victims, and drove the Imperialists to change the scene of execution. There had not been anything of the sort during the Triad occupation. It was a striking contrast.

At Shanghai things of another kind happened. The Triads, unaided by the *Taipings*, found themselves presently besieged by a Manchu army. At that time there were two settlements at Shanghai: one occupied chiefly by Anglo-Saxons, — American citizens and British subjects, — the other by the

French, the latter being in comparatively close proximity to the walled city where the Triads had established themselves. This local division did not imply any open discord between the various nationalities. The French have always shown a disposition to develop along independent lines in the Far East. At Shanghai they obeyed that instinct, and having secured a special settlement of their own, subsequently enlarged it, by processes to be presently noted, until its dimensions far exceeded their needs, and the inevitable result followed, incomplete occupation, inferior buildings, and a general air of stagnation, contrasting vividly with the fine edifices, prosperous aspect, and business tumult of the adjacent Anglo-Saxon settlement. Moreover, the French took a special view of their land title. They had not assisted England in her struggle to open China to foreign trade. Yet, not content with England's interpretation of the privileges she had obtained and which they had obtained under an exactly similar compact, they insisted on regarding as a "concession" the area set apart for their use in Shanghai, and this self-asserted title of ownership has never been seriously challenged by China. Between the British and the Americans some little friction occurred as to their respective rights of occupation, but they ultimately settled down in friendly union, and in obedience to England's magnanimous and profoundly wise policy of extending to all Occidental States an absolutely equal share in every

privilege obtained by her diplomacy or won by her arms, the Anglo-Saxon settlement at Shanghai opened its door without discrimination of race, and rapidly became a great centre of commerce and progress. The only direction in which English land-fever showed itself was in the determination to have a race-course and a cricket-ground. Mr. Consul Alcock, a gravely sedate person, fonder of penning sonorous despatches and poring over the "problems of life" than of kicking a football or jumping a hurdle, was shocked at the aggressive tactlessness of his nationals when they demanded a three-mile race-course at the newly opened port on the Yangtse. But his countrymen carried their point, as any one acquainted with English character might have predicted. On this race-course the Imperialist forces encamped when they invested Shanghai in 1853, seeking to recover the walled city from the Triads. At that time the sympathies of the Anglo-Saxons were with the insurgents. The Governor of Hongkong, having just visited Nanking, for the purpose of officially announcing Great Britain's neutrality, had brought back most attractive reports of the friendly demeanour of the *Taipings*, their excellent organisation, their fraternal feelings towards Occidentals as fellow-Christians, and their orderly conduct. Moreover, foreigners had free access to the walled city occupied by the Triads, and foreign missionaries could preach to large and attentive audiences there. Hence,

when the Imperialist forces encamped on the race-course, a choice of location not at all calculated to please the Anglo-Saxon community, and when, further, they set up rifle-targets in such a position as to endanger the lives of foreigners taking their daily recreation, and when, above all, they not only resented the fact that provisions and munitions of war were supplied to the beleaguered garrison from the Anglo-Saxon settlement, but also allowed their own anti-foreign feeling to be occasionally translated into acts of violence on the part of individual "braves," the situation seemed to the British and the Americans to have become intolerable. The consuls of the aggrieved nationalities took a singularly bold step at this juncture. They notified the Chinese General that he must remove his camp at once, and that failure to comply would be followed by an armed attack the same day. The Chinese Commander-in-chief probably viewed this threat as a jest. Generals do not, at a few hours' notice, move encampments of several thousands of soldiers posted in pursuance of a strategical purpose. Such operations are not contemplated except in the presence of a pressing emergency. No emergency presented itself to the Tartar officer's comprehension, and he further saw that to make good their menace the consuls could not muster more than a handful of mariners from three small British and American war-ships, together with, perhaps, a few merchant-soldiers and some civilian volun-

teers. That such an insignificant and heterogeneous force should be launched against a position held by some thousands of "braves" did not look like a serious contingency. However, the consuls thought differently. They marshalled their army of three hundred men, and rushed, as it seemed, to their destruction. But the Chinese made practically no resistance. It was not their cue to fight. Foreigners, having command of the river, could have paralysed the operations of the Imperialists against the city, and, moreover, if foreigners espoused the cause of the Triads, the latter's ultimate success would have been assured. A great issue thus depended on the course adopted by the Manchu General. He chose the right course for his Government, though probably the wrong one in the interests of human progress, — removed his troops from the race-course and placated his intrepid assailants.

It is remarkable that the French took no part in this singular *coup*. Its boldness must have appealed to their spirit of adventure, but whether their political sagacity showed them that the rebellion must ultimately be crushed, — than which no result seemed at the moment more probable, — or whether they were antipathetic to *Taipings*, Triads, and all insurgents, they not only stood aloof from their Anglo-Saxon fellow-residents, but subsequently espoused the cause of the Manchus with much resolution. They even established a blockade of the city, bombarded it

from their vessels of war, and having effected a practical breach, assaulted in concert with the Imperialists, — an unsuccessful essay which cost the assailants very dear. Some very painful tales have been placed on record as to the conduct of French mariners throughout this siege, but they are not supported by sufficient testimony to be regarded as historical. What is certain, however, is that, their military operations having placed them in temporary possession of a considerable area of suburban land, they included it in their "concession," ultimately obtaining the Chinese Government's endorsement of the *fait accompli*. It has been suggested that French hostility to the Triads was inspired by the Jesuits, some of whose churches, containing images of the Virgin Mary and other saints, had suffered at the hands of the inconoclastic *Taipings* with whom the Triads were known to be seeking an alliance. Possibly that factor exercised a contributary influence, but it can scarcely have proved conclusive. At all events, in joining forces with the Manchus for the assault of Shanghai, the French adopted a policy diametrically opposed to that of the British, whose representative had just visited Nanking for the purpose of declaring his country's neutrality.

As at Amoy, so also at Shanghai, the capture of the city by the Imperialists was marked by a relentless massacre of the inhabitants. The main body of the Triads cut their way through the lines of the besiegers and escaped. Three

hundred surrendered to the French, who handed them over to the Manchus. These prisoners are said to have been killed in a most cruel manner. Within the city more than two thousand were put to death. Burning with red-hot irons, mutilating, disembowelling, and other horrors were circumstantially related by the local foreign press, and it was added, by way of contrast, that when the Triads had captured the city only two lives were sacrificed.

France was not the only Power that found itself advantaged at the close of the seventeen months (September, 1853, to February, 1855) comprised in the Triads' tenure of Shanghai. Hers was a territorial gain which has never profited her materially. But England and America owed to the trouble two results, one of which proved of incalculable benefit to China herself as well as to every nation trading with her, and without the other Shanghai would have lacked the automatic sentiment which has contributed materially to its well-being. A tentative scheme of municipal government had been drafted in 1845, but it proved quite inadequate to meet the requirements of the disturbed time in 1853, when tens of thousands of Chinese refugees sought shelter and security within the limits of the foreign settlement. The system was therefore largely extended, and, at the same time, the small foreign community undertook the duty of self-defence by forming a volunteer corps which then and on many sub-

sequent occasions contributed much to the security of the settlement. But the signal outcome of the crisis was the organisation of a customs service under foreign supervision. That had its origin in the difficulty of preventing smuggling. Opium smuggling had flourished in its day, and had brought stupendous events in its train. It still went on merrily; but the Chinese and British authorities having agreed to assume an attitude of unconsciousness, official eyes closed automatically when the drug came into the field of vision. There were other kinds of smuggling, however. A recent writer[1] gives a humorous account of vessels clearing from China in ballast and subsequently landing in England a full cargo of tea; of shiploads of manufactured goods "melting on the voyage to China like a cargo of ice, so far as the records in the Chinese custom house would show," and of one special case, regarded as "the acme of audacious smuggling," when British goods having been entered at the customs house for re-exportation and therefore free of duty, were sold, and the empty cases, having been repacked with silk, were shipped under the original marks, "described as calico, on which a drawback was claimed of import duties which had never been paid at all." The recorder of these incidents mentions, almost in the same paragraph, that "the roots of smuggling lay deep in the Chinese character and civilisation," but it must be confessed that

[1] See Appendix, note 13.

in the face of the evidence furnished by his own writings and in the face of the story of the opium trade, other soil than Chinese seems to have been well adapted for the growth of this plant.

It appears to have been an article of the creed accepted by foreign nations in dealing with China that the violator of a law should be held guiltless compared with the official who allowed him to violate it. Great Britain, however, in a supplementary treaty signed at Canton in 1843, agreed that her consuls should "strictly watch over, and carefully scrutinise, the conduct of all British subjects trading under their superintendence," and should "instantly apprise the Chinese authorities of any positive instance of smuggling that came to consular knowledge." Thus a co-operative responsibility was established, which might have proved very inconvenient in the case of opium had not the "mutually unconscious" attitude been devised subsequently by the British Representative and the Chinese High Commissioner. In the field of general trade, however, British consuls would have faithfully sought to carry out their part of this agreement had not other Powers succeeded in obtaining from China treaties in which the co-operative clause did not appear. Thus the situation became this, that American citizens or French subjects were under no consular restraint whatever in the matter of customs dues, whereas British subjects were supposed to be "strictly watched and carefully scrutinised." Such a state

of affairs was fatal to any honest trader: his unscrupulous rival could lay down goods much cheaper than the lowest prices quotable for articles that had paid the proper duty. Of course it is not imaginable that chicanery of that kind prevailed outside the British commercial circle only, and that the Englishman was handicapped by a special weight of integrity. He too took his share of what was going. But British consuls found the obligation imposed on them by the treaty exceedingly irksome, and there had long been talk of the urgent need of an honest and efficient customs service; when suddenly, owing to the capture of the city by the Triads and the consequent expulsion of Chinese officials, there ceased to be any customs service at all and every one escaped the payment of duties. That, too, seemed to the British consul an infringement of the treaties. He therefore proposed to his American and French colleagues that the consulates should temporarily assume the function of collectors of customs, receiving promissory notes in lieu of coin. The system, having worked well for a time, was defeated ultimately by a difficulty which often afterwards made itself felt in other directions also; namely, that while Great Britain, France, and America were represented by consuls *de carrière*, the other Powers — Spain, Austria, Denmark, Prussia, etc. — were represented by merchants actually engaged in business, and these, of course, entered and cleared their own goods

duty free. Choice had now to be made between declaring Shanghai a free port and allowing the Chinese to re-establish a custom house within the limits of the settlements. The former would have been unwarrantable; the latter, an obvious violation of the neutrality to which Great Britain had pledged herself *vis-à-vis* the *Taipings*. Nevertheless the latter course was chosen as the lesser of two evils. It proved a case of the seven worse devils of the parable. The Chinese customs officials, presided over by an ex-Canton merchant, made special arrangements with any ship-owner that agreed to "conciliate" them, and in the interests of honest traders, the British consul had to declare the port free until some satisfactory organisation could be contrived. It was found in a foreign inspectorate, paid by the Chinese Government, and constituted at first with three representatives, a British, a French, and an American, but ultimately with one only, an Englishman, Mr. H. N. Lay.

The far-reaching effects of this measure did not appear at first sight, and were probably unappreciated by those responsible for its conception. In the first place, it was an indirect violation of the pledge of neutrality given by the British Representative to the *Taiping* leader at Nanking. Up to that moment Mr. Consul Alcock had conscientiously insisted that the foreign settlement must not be utilised in any way by the Chinese Government for purposes of customs collection. If they

could not retain possession of the walled city where their official duties had to be discharged, they must not take advantage of the foreign settlement's immunity. Even the project, mooted at one time, of establishing the customs house on a hulk in the river had been negatived by Mr. Alcock, since the river was protected by British war-ships. Yet it does not appear to have suggested itself to the same consul that any departure from that principle was made when a British subject — an ex-official of the Consulate itself, — assisted by a staff of foreigners, all safeguarded by their respective governments, undertook the function of collecting customs dues on behalf of the Manchu authorities.

In the second place, this measure gave obvious, if vicarious stability to the Chinese throne by placing at its disposal the services of men who would not only act as media of friendly intercommunication between it and the Western States, but would also be personally interested in its preservation and well-being. No one could have clearly foreseen that these customs officials would ultimately become China's diplomatic agents, fiscal and financial advisers, scientific assistants and public advocates; that they would, in short, be far more to her than Ricci, Schaal, Verbiest, and all the Jesuits had been. That remarkable development of functions was not a natural outcome of the system, but rather a most improbable consequence of the ability of the men attracted

to its ranks. Any thoughtful person, however, might have understood that from the moment when a number of Europeans and Americans were permitted to become servants of China and to collect for her a principal part of her revenues under an arrangement conceived and proposed by foreign governments, from that moment her Manchu rulers might consider themselves taken under foreign guardianship. If the Peking statesmen themselves did not understand something of the incalculable advantages thus conferred on them, they must have been temporarily visited by a sudden lapse of habitual astuteness. The knell of the *Taiping* cause may truly be said to have sounded in 1854.

In the mean while affairs at Canton were gradually ripening towards another rupture between China and Great Britain. The closed gates of the city acted as a perpetual gibe to British residents and British officials. After 1849, when it had been mutually agreed that a convenient time for opening the gates should be awaited, and when the Chinese had erected a triumphal arch to commemorate the indefinite postponement of that objectionable consummation, the place gradually assumed a tranquil mien, and the exercise-loving Britisher, no longer limited to tramping round the 535-yards enclosure of the Factories, or to pulling an oar on the river, began to take walks into the adjacent country and even to organise picnics. But the closed gates were

always *en évidence*. At this distance from the scene and the time of the Canton crisis, it is not easy to realise the intensely aggravating character of Chinese policy. The first thought is that a little patience would have overcome all difficulties, and that, as relations between the foreign residents and their Chinese neighbours were steadily improving, time might have been trusted to solve the problem. But one not immediately apparent point has to be remembered: Canton was the diplomatic capital of China after the Opium War and Hongkong was the residence of the British Representative. Between the Viceroy in Canton and the Chief Superintendent of British Trade in Hongkong, there should have existed personal intercourse of the nature existing between the plenipotentiary accredited to the court of a country and the official charged with the conduct of the latter's foreign affairs. No such intercourse was permitted by the Chinese Viceroy in Canton. He never emerged from his *yamên* in the city to meet the British Representative, nor ever allowed the latter to visit him at his *yamên*. All business had to be transacted by means of despatches. Obviously the Viceroy's idea was that concessions and complications could be reduced to a minimum so long as personal contact was avoided. Letter-writing offers infinite resources of evasion, prevarication, and procrastination, and these were precisely the weapons that ought to be employed in dealing with obtrusive strangers who insisted

upon forcing their disagreeable presence on people that did not want to have anything to say to them. But if such a policy seemed natural enough from the Chinese point of view, its intensely galling and offensive character in British eyes can easily be appreciated. Thus, as years went by, the baffling exclusiveness of the Canton authorities grew more and more unendurable, and since the statesmen in Downing Street would not sanction any forceful measure to break down Chinese obstinacy, British officials in Canton and Hongkong watched eagerly for some incident such as might force the hands of their Pacific superiors.

Just as things had reached this stage of tender equilibrium a change of ministry in England necessitated the issue of general instructions to the new Governor of Hongkong, Sir J. Bowring. The latter, having served as consul in Canton, had become a victim to the torture of the gate question. Two years previously, when acting Governor of Hongkong, he had endeavoured to convince Her Majesty's Government that the key which unlocked the gates of Canton would unlock also the last door of Chinese exclusiveness. But his suggestion had elicited something very like a reprimand, and it was therefore with profound satisfaction that, immediately after receiving his commission as governor, he received also a despatch from the Foreign Secretary, saying that " it would be desirable to secure free admis-

sion into some of the cities of China, especially Canton." The suggestion was enveloped in admonitions of caution. No menacing language was to be used, since failure would necessitate recourse to force, and thus, "in order to obtain results the practical advantage of which is not clearly demonstrated, we might place in peril the vast commercial interests which have already grown up in China, and which, with good and temperate management, will daily acquire greater extension." Under ordinary circumstances such a despatch would not have seemed to call for immediate action. But a slight prick of the spur will make a willing horse bound. The Governor at once addressed to Viceroy Yeh in Canton a despatch asking to be received at his Excellency's *yamên* "within the walls of the city of Canton."

This was in April, 1854. The opening of the city had been postponed in 1849 to a suitable occasion, and Viceroy Yeh may justly have felt that the spring of 1854 was eminently an unsuitable occasion. Disorder on an unexampled scale reigned at that time in the province of Kwangtung. Encouraged by the success of the *Taipings* in the Yangtse valley, a powerful band of freebooters — not connected with the *Taipings* — rose in the southern province, and were beginning to ravage wide areas in the immediate vicinity of Canton when Sir John Bowring preferred his proposal for a personal interview with the Viceroy within the walls. Yeh declined. He

might well plead preoccupation. For within less than three months after the receipt of Bowring's despatch, the freebooters captured Fatshan, a town often called the "Birmingham of Canton." It lay within six miles of the latter city, and was the chief source of manufactured supplies for the foreign trade, satin, silks, shawls, paper, and other staples being produced there. Making it their basis of operations, the rebels environed Canton, and there and then commenced an era of wholesale pillaging, slaughtering, burning and destroying, insurgents and Imperialists vying with one another in their merciless ferocity. Not by land alone, but also by water, the peaceful inhabitants found themselves harassed, for the rebels had command of a fleet of war-junks which traversed every creek in the district, carrying destruction wherever they went. So desperate did the condition of the city become that, at a general meeting of the literati and leading citizens, in September of the same year, a resolution was adopted that foreign succour should be sought. The Viceroy approved the resolution, but did not immediately put it into execution. He had reasons for hesitation. Already foreigners were assisting the brigands, supplying them with arms and munitions of war and publishing laudatory accounts of their successes in the local English press. Besides, the Portuguese had recently shown that the danger of engaging foreign steamers to act as convoys against the attack of pirates was

much greater than any danger to be apprehended from the pirates themselves. Nevertheless, in December, the Viceroy found himself in such straits that he actually did apply to the Governor of Hongkong for assistance. Sir John Bowring had then an unique opportunity to solve the "City Question" by amicable means. Under the legitimate pretext of defending the Factories, he might have lent such aid to the Viceroy as would have placed the latter under a lasting obligation. There was another reason, also, which should have swayed the British Governor. Her Majesty's consuls had proved themselves incompetent or reluctant to restrain the lawless acts of their nationals in lending material and moral aid to the freebooters. Had the Governor come to the rescue of Canton, he would have removed this reproach and restored British reputation. But Sir John Bowring was just as self-opinionated and just as great a stickler for the proprieties as Viceroy Yeh himself. He replied that it was no part of his duty to interfere in the domestic affairs of China, and having thus delivered an effectual rebuff to Yeh, he moved up to Canton with a large naval force for the declared purpose of guarding the Factories. It seems to have been his strange expectation that the Viceroy, though thus curtly reprimanded, would be mollified and drawn out of his retirement by the apparition of a British squadron. The apparition of a British squadron at Canton did not generally produce

that kind of effect on Chinese officials. Yeh, since the ships had not come at his request, would probably have preferred their absence to their presence. He did not take Sir John Bowring to his arms or give the faintest indication of any desire in that sense. Then Sir John essayed another device. A new British consul having been appointed to Canton, the Governor offered to come to the city and introduce him to the Viceroy. At the time of this offer (June, 1855) the business that engrossed Canton's attention was, on the one hand, the pursuit and destruction of brigands who infested all the waters in the delta, and, on the other, the execution of persons who had been engaged in the rebellion. This last operation converted the city into a shambles. At least eighty thousand heads fell during the year, the tale for one day mounting sometimes to eight hundred. Yeh did not consider that the suitable time for opening the gates had yet come. Clear proof was subsequently obtained that in thus maintaining an attitude of seclusion he acted in accordance with instructions from Peking. His Government had told him in effect to have as little as possible to do with foreign officials. Safety seemed to lie in that direction, and besides it was the policy approved by precedent. But whatever may be said of Yeh, it must be admitted that Sir John Bowring showed conspicuous want of discrimination in his choice of times and seasons. Being, however, without

means to carry insistence any further, he had to content himself with recording that "in my matured judgment the settlement of the City Question has been delayed much too long." Once again, then, the attitude of waiting for a chance was resumed. "There can be no doubt," as a biographer of one of the celebrated characters of the time puts it, "that in 1856 the English, from Downing Street to Hongkong and Canton, were determined to avail themselves of the first fitting opportunity for pressing the City Question."

An opportunity came soon enough, but in order to appreciate its nature a word of preface is necessary.

When the plenipotentaries of Great Britain and China negotiated the supplementary treaty of 1843, they foresaw clearly enough that Hongkong, in its character of free port, might afford great facilities to smugglers and even to pirates. By way of precaution, therefore, they inserted a provision the gist of which was that any Chinese vessel carrying goods to and from Hongkong must be furnished with a pass given by the Chinese authorities at one of the newly opened ports, or at the port from which the vessel cleared; and they further provided that an English officer should be appointed at Hongkong to examine all such passes. In effect, the treaty closed Hongkong to any Chinese ship unprovided with a Chinese official pass. None of the stipulations evoked so much hostile comment

as this. It was denounced as investing the Chinese with dangerous power to control the maritime traffic of a British port, and certainly in their manner of exercising the right thus given to them Chinese officials justified the criticism. A majority of them, it may be reasonably assumed, had not the least desire to promote the prosperity of Hongkong. Others saw in the issue of these passes an opportunity to enrich themselves; and some enforced the rule severely in order to honestly achieve the purpose of its enactment.

Thus Hongkong suffered from a kind of ostracism quite incompatible with its title of "free port." Very soon, however, an exit from the dilemma was devised. To vessels owned by Chinese residents in Hongkong registers were granted by the British authorities, the vessels being thereby empowered to fly the Union Jack and to rank for all practical purposes as British-owned ships. In that character they enjoyed complete immunity from Chinese inspection or interference, and could come and go at will, provided only that they did not frequent any Chinese ports other than the five opened by treaty.

In spite of great care exercised in granting registers, not a few of the ships thus enfranchised converted their liberty into license, and became smugglers or even pirates. In Hongkong they posed as honest traders, but once outside the limits of British jurisdiction, they threw off the mask and committed terrible excesses, their safeguard

against punishment being the flag which they thus dishonoured.

These vessels, however, formed but a very small fraction of the piratical fleet that infested Chinese waters during the years immediately subsequent to the signing of the Nanking treaty, and their evil doings ought to have been fully expiated by the vigorous measures that British men-of-war adopted to free the coasts from such an affliction. It became, indeed, quite an every-day occurrence that a sloop-of-war or gunboat belonging to the British squadron on the China Station, should be despatched in pursuit of pirates, — a duty whose discharge often led to sanguinary encounters. Not one of the other Powers that had established profitable relations with China under England's ægis lent any assistance in this anti-piratical campaign; it was carried on year after year solely by British vessels. Certainly the responsibility devolved mainly on England; for, whatever surveillance the Hongkong Government attempted to exercise, the port served always as the centre of the sea-robbers' organisation. There they obtained supplies as well as information about the movements of merchandise and of the much-dreaded gunboat, and there too they obtained recruits among European and American adventurers of the type that gain attracts in any guise. Gambling-houses in Hongkong constituted Alsatias for pirates, inasmuch as, the Chinese police being in the pay of the keepers of these dens, any cutthroat seeking recrea-

tion at a *fan-tan* table could count on immunity from pursuit the moment he crossed the threshold.

During that reign of terror — which may be said to have lasted until 1867, when one of the ablest governors Hongkong ever possessed, Sir Richard McDonnell, adopted the drastic devices of licensing the gambling-houses and importing Sikh police from India, — peaceful trading-vessels had to go about armed to the teeth, and, in their great straits, the much suffering Chinese began to employ European or American ships to convoy their junks. This last resource led to atrocious abuses in another form. The convoys themselves turned freebooter when occasion offered, and in the inner waters of China, where the arm of the consul did not reach and where the Chinese authorities, warned by bitter experience, declined to lay hands upon a foreign malefactor, excesses of the most shocking and ruthless kind were perpetrated in abundance. The Portuguese stand at the head of this villanous record. They had a fleet of lorchas[1] which, not content with receiving some seventy thousand pounds sterling annually for legitimate convoy services, adopted the profession of privateer, made descents upon villages, carried off the women, murdered the men, stole everything portable, burned the houses, and "became infinitely greater scourges than the pirates they were paid to repel."

These things happened in 1854, and Mr.

[1] See Appendix, note 14.

Wingrove Cook, writing three years later, says that the Portuguese consul made no attempt to deal with the horror, and that his nationals, taken red-handed and delivered over to him, were allowed to escape from the consular jail. Finally, the Chinese local authorities adopted the expedient of setting a thief to catch a thief. They employed a piratical leader of their own nationality, and he, mustering his forces, attacked the Portuguese ruffians in Macao, whither they had fled, stormed the Portuguese consulate where they had entrenched themselves, and shot down or speared the murderers as they attempted to fly.

It may well be imagined that a lorcha flying a foreign flag became, under these circumstances, an object of suspicion rather than of respect to Chinese officials. Such a vessel, showing British colours, sailed up the Pearl River on October 8, 1856, and anchored off Canton. The *Arrow* — so she was called, a name destined to become historical —had had a chequered career. Originally a peaceful trader, the property of a Chinese merchant in Macao, she was captured by pirates and used as a corsair in the delta of Kwangtung during the insurrection of 1854–1855. Recaptured by one of the city's volunteer bands, she was sold, and, being sent to Hongkong for re-sale, legal proceedings for her recovery were instituted by her original owner. A foreign arbitrator, however, decided against his claim, and the ship passed into the possession of a Chinese resident

of Hongkong. As she lay off Canton, a man recognised in one of her crew a pirate by whom he had been recently attacked and plundered. He immediately lodged information, and the Chinese authorities lost no time in arresting the whole crew of twelve men and hauling down the British flag. In both acts they were wrong. So long as the *Arrow* flew British colours, her deck lay within the jurisdiction of the British consul and without the jurisdiction of the Chinese local authorities. If they desired to proceed against one of her crew, the only legitimate channel of procedure was the British consulate. That mistake, however, might easily have been condoned on the ground of ignorance. Extraterritorial jurisdiction is a mysterious and intricate piece of mechanism, often not clearly intelligible even by its own inventors. The Chinese, seeing a villanous criminal at a time when miscreants of his type were the scourge of the country, obeyed the rudimentary instincts of justice and apprehended him forthwith, without recourse to devious technicalities, by complying with which, it must be confessed, the ends of justice have often been defeated in the Far East. But in hauling down the British colours they committed an egregious blunder. There is no reason whatever to suppose that they deliberately intended to insult the flag. That would have been mere monkey-like mischievousness. Informed that at least one member of the crew was a pirate, they conceived

the lorcha to be a corsair hiding her iniquities under a foreign flag which they lost no time in removing. That is the plain, common-sense interpretation of their doings. Technically speaking, the *Arrow* was not entitled to fly the British flag at the time of the complication, for her register had expired eleven days previously. The Chinese authorities, however, made no attempt to shelter themselves under that technicality. They had an indisputable right to examine the register of any vessel entering their ports, since otherwise the most flagrant abuses would be possible; and they might have contended that, although the expiration of her register would not deprive a ship of the protection of her flag if she happened to be in mid-ocean at the time, no such plea could be advanced on account of the *Arrow*, since she had been in the Pearl River for more than a month without taking any step to renew her register. But these matters, though they afterwards provoked much controversy in England, did not find a place in the official discussion at Canton. The Chinese simply contended that, in consideration of the *Arrow's* record, she could not be regarded as a British lorcha, and that they were justified in seizing Chinese malefactors found on board.

It fell to the lot of Mr. Consul Parkes — afterwards Sir Harry Parkes — to deal with this matter in its initial stages, and his manner of dealing with it elicited severe condemnation from the

political opponents of the British Ministry. Mr. Parkes would have made a model leader of cavalry. He had all the high courage, swift perception of circumstances, and inflexibility of purpose necessary for such a career. He was also gifted with every quality that goes to constitute nobility of character. But the patience demanded of a diplomatist did not find in him a ready exponent, and what to a man of more flexible mood would have seemed a fair compromise, appeared in Parkes' eyes a surrender at discretion. It had been in one sense his misfortune to settle in the East at the impressionable age of fourteen, for he quickly took on the colours of his surroundings and became an exponent of the "gunboat policy." At seventeen he had already persuaded himself that not a word said by a Chinese high official could be believed, and he never changed that view. Evidently to a man of such a type the procrastinations and evasions of the Chinese at Canton must have been almost intolerable. Yet it cannot be said that Parkes behaved with impatience or harshness in the early stages of the *Arrow* complication. His demands represented the minimum of what was essential, namely, the surrender of the lorcha's crew. Viceroy Yeh, after considerable demur, surrendered the men. But to Parkes' demand the Governor of Hongkong had added the condition of an apology, and Yeh refused to apologise. He could not be persuaded that the *Arrow* had a legitimate title to fly the British flag, and he reso-

lutely declined to ask pardon for having treated as Chinese a Chinese-owned ship in a Chinese port.

Here was the opportunity for which British officials had been so long waiting, the opportunity to force open the gates of Canton. Mr. Parkes repaired to Hongkong and — to use his own words — "advocated active measures, for it appeared to me that the insolence of the commissioner had been carried too far." Active measures were accordingly taken in the form of a series of attacks upon the riverine forts, upon the outworks of Canton, and, finally, upon Canton itself. These doings lasted three weeks. It was like flogging a school boy to make him confess his fault. At intervals the chastisement was suspended in order to inquire whether repentance had come to the Viceroy, and on ascertaining that he remained obdurate, the process of beating recommenced. When Yeh found that his forts had fallen and that shells were dropping at set intervals into his own official residence, he issued a proclamation calling upon the people to expel the invaders and promising a reward of thirty dollars for every English head. After that the game of war went on more briskly than ever, until finally, a breach having been effected in the wall, the British Admiral and the British consul had the satisfaction of entering the Viceroy's *yamên* and treading on the forbidden ground. To batter a hole in the wall of a man's house and leave one's card in his

deserted dining-room, is scarcely the best way of opening a friendly acquaintance with him; but the performance possessed at least the merit of being logical, for in one of the intervals of his punishment the Viceroy had been incidentally required to throw open the city, and on his refusal the British proceeded to demonstrate that they could open it for themselves. Not having force enough to retain it, however, they evacuated the place, whereafter the Chinese repaired the breach and burned the foreign Factories by way of reprisals. More captures of forts followed; but Viceroy Yeh remained immovable, and at last the British, having exhausted all the potentialities of the small force at their disposal, sat down to await the coming of reinforcements from England. It was thus that the Second War commenced.

Appendix

Appendix

NOTE 1. — Translated by Mr. E. H. Parker.

NOTE 2. — Ouchterlony in his "Chinese War" describes an incident of the meeting between the Chinese and British plenipotentiaries outside the walls of Nanking after the conclusion of the peace negotiations: "Major Anstruther, of Ningpo celebrity, was introduced to Ilipu at the latter's particular desire. When in charge of the Chehkiang province, the Imperial Commissioner had shown much kindness to the gallant officer during his imprisonment. The mandarin Chu, who had on many occasions diversified his unsavoury prison fare by piquant courses from his own table, was also present, and with great cordiality greeted his old friend, who had won his heart by presents of some of his admirable sketches."

NOTE 3. — Translated by Mr. H. A Giles.

NOTE 4. — There were anchorites before the time of Laotsu. Confucius more than once condemned such a manner of searching after truth. But the promulgation of Laotsu's doctrines gave a great impetus to the habit.

NOTE 5. — Faber's "Mind of Mencius."

NOTE 6. — The six conditions of sentient existence are called the six *gati*, or paths of transmigration, by the Buddhists, from whom the Taoists borrowed the idea of metempsychosis and the tortures of hell. These paths are devas, men, asuras, beings in hell, pretas and animals, the three last being called the "Three States."

NOTE 7. — Mr. H. A. Giles remarks: "Yet this belief has not prevented the establishment, especially on the Yangtse, of institutions provided with life-boats for the express purpose of saving life in these dangerous waters. So true is it that when

the Chinese people wish to move *en masse* in any given direction the fragile barrier of superstition is trampled down and scattered to the winds."

NOTE 8. — For a minute and excellent account of these things, see Smith's "Village Life in China."

NOTE 9. — The taking of this oath is a favourite subject with Chinese artists.

NOTE 10. — Vide "Triad Society," by Mr. William Stanton.

NOTE 11. — One of these proclamations, in which the five principal *Taiping* leaders have ranks bestowed on them, says (Medhurst's translation): "Besides the great God, our heavenly Father and supreme Lord, there is no one who can be called *Shang* and no one who can be called *Ti*. Therefore from henceforth all you soldiers and officers may designate me as Your lord, and that is all; you must not call me supreme lest you should encroach upon the designation of our Heavenly Father. . . . Our Heavenly Father and Celestial Elder Brother alone are holy; therefore from henceforth you must not call me holy," etc. This seems to contradict effectually the assertion of Mr. Holmes, the Baptist missionary, that the *Taiping* leader claimed and received worship as a god from his followers.

NOTE 12. — "I could not help being struck with his appearance as he went on in this earnest strain," wrote Dr. Medhurst. "Bold and fearless as he stood, openly denouncing the views of the people, his countenance beaming with intelligence, his upright and manly form the very picture of health, while his voice thrilled through the crowd, they seemed petrified with amazement: their natural conscience assured them that his testimony was true; while the conviction seemed to be strong among them that the two great objects of his denunciation — opium and idolatry — were both bad things and must be given up. He spoke an intelligible Mandarin with an occasional touch of Canton or Kwangsi brogue. His modes of illustration were peculiar, and some of the things which he advanced were not such as Christian missionaries were accustomed to bring forward. The impression left on my mind, however, was that a considerable amount of useful instruction was delivered, and such as would serve to promote the objects we had in view

in putting down idolatry and furthering the worship of the true God."

NOTE 13. — Mr. A. Michie in "The Englishman in China."

NOTE 14. — The name given to a vessel partly of Chinese and partly of foreign rig. Such ships were much affected, since they could be easily worked by a Chinese crew.

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